UPHAUS JAILED FOR YEAR . . . P. 5

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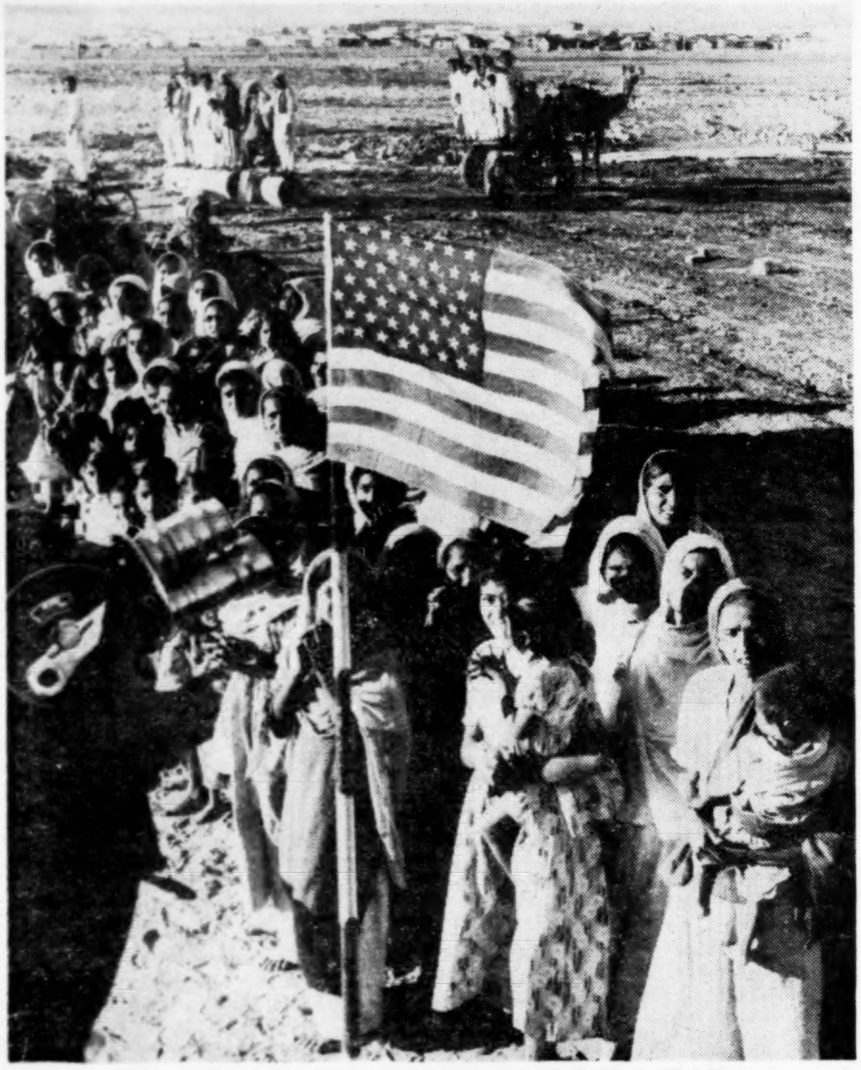


WE LIKE YOU, IKE, BUT WE CAN'T EAT A FLAG
This was Karachi, Pakistan, on Dec. 9, 1959, as the American President was greeted by millions of people with empty bellies and ragged clothing. American aid to Pakistan goes mainly for missiles; the full dinner pail lags behind (see below and p. 3).

IKE'S 19 DAYS 'ROUND THE WORLD

Asia: He didn't understand; Paris: The biggest headache

By Kumar Goshal

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, exhausted and awed by the sheer size of the crowds which greeted him, ended his tour of Asia on Dec. 15 and headed into the home stretch through North Africa and Europe. Everywhere in Asia he was entertained lavishly by the governments. The people turned out by the hundreds of thousands to accord him a spectacular welcome as "a messenger of peace" and a harbinger of economic plenty.

But in each country visited, the President made personal contact only with the VIP's and the upper crust of society. Correspondents noted that, unlike Soviet Premier Khrushchev in his travels, Eisenhower seemed to have neither the inclination nor the temperament for mixing with the ordinary people. Only in India did the President visit a village; but this was a model village especially spruced up for the occasion.

Eisenhower saw little of the day-to-day life of the ordinary people who packed the streets as he rode past. Despite efforts to camouflage the miserable hovels on either side of the roads over which he passed, the stark poverty of the people could not be altogether hidden from his view.

A BLURRED PICTURE: For lining the roads were children with spindly legs and bloated bellies which are a caricature of opulence, many of them naked and most in rags; women holding in their arms babies with the solemn faces of adults; and emaciated men and women wrinkled beyond their years. It is doubtful that the President saw them clearly; but even a blurred picture from a moving car should have made an indelible impression.

Reports indicated that the President had impressed all with his simplicity and sincerity, but had failed to satisfy the hopes either of the governments or the people. It remained to be seen whether or not he made any commitments to the governments; his press secretary James Hagerty said he had not, and there was no evidence to the contrary.

While each of the governments had some special axe to grind, all had hoped for increased U.S. non-military aid—and all seemed to have been disappointed. To Asia's hungry millions he offered only speeches full of phrases as irrelevant as they were indefinite.

CLOSE—BUT NOT QUITE: In India, which was the focal point of his journey

(Continued on Page 10)

THE INDUSTRY YELLS: 'SOCIALISM!'

The drug business: How to get rich by soaking the sick

By Robert E. Light

TWENTY YEARS AGO the local pharmacist filled prescriptions written in Latin from mysterious little jars containing elixirs known only to himself and the medical world. Today the corner druggist has your prescription ready in ten minutes—the time it takes to count out pills from a large bottle, put them in a small bottle and type a label.

The age of the "wonder drug" has not only revolutionized the druggist's life, it has alleviated suffering generally and attacked major illnesses that once felled millions. Starting in 1943 with the introduction of the first antibiotic, penicillin, the "golden era" of pharmaceuticals has made available such cures and palliatives as broad-range antibiotics, hormones, sulfas, antihistamines and tranquilizers. What was once a minor American industry now accounts for $2.2 billion in sales annually.

PRICES UP, UP, UP: But along with the scientific advances has come an astonishing rise in the cost of drugs. The average price of filling a doctor's prescription is over $3. And the cost of drugs used in the treatment of major ailments often runs as high as $30 for 100 tablets. For many the biggest wonder about the "wonder drugs" is why they cost so much.

From time to time newspapers and magazines have looked into the matter and concluded that not all was ethical in the ethical drug industry. (An ethical drug is one sold only by doctor's prescription.) But the first official investigation was launched Dec. 7 by a Senate subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly headed by Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.). The committee, which will hold intermittent sessions until June, will try to find out if there is price-fixing by the large companies; if a group of large banks and investment companies control the drug firms and the extent of the government's check on advertising claims for new drugs.

One of the first questions Kefauver said he wanted answered was why identical products have varying prices in different countries. For example, 50 tablets of the tranquilizer, Miltown, sell for 46c in Argentina, while a like quantity of the same product, made by the same manufacturer, costs $4.34 in the United States.

SOME CONCLUSIONS: Kefauver did not get the answers to all his questions at the first week of hearings, but he learned enough to conclude: (1) "The identity of prices charged by the big companies certainly calls for a re-examination of our antitrust laws." (2) "Some method must be found of assuring the accuracy of advertising before doctors are deluged with all this expensive promotion for new drugs." (3) "Profits are obviously

(Continued on Page 8)

In this issue

I'LL MAKE THAT SPEECH
Hats off to Young . . . . p. 3
AID WITHOUT STRINGS
Needy nations talk up . p. 3
MIKOYAN IN MEXICO
The thaw goes south . . p. 5
CULTURAL SWAP SHOP
U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchange . p. 6
SALAZAR'S FOE SPEAKS
Will Portuguese revolt? p. 7
THAT FELLOW FIORELLO
Life of La Guardia . . . . p. 9

'PEACE' IS MISSING IN THE DEMOCRATS' PLATFORM

Stevenson proposes new anti-strike law

By Louis E. Burnham

A MOVEMENT TO CLAMP new shackles on America's trade unions gained support from an unexpected source last week: Adlai E. Stevenson told a meeting of the Institute of Life Insurance on Dec. 8 that the President ought to have the power to forbid strikes in "essential" industries like steel while a settlement of labor-management disputes is being reached.

Harking back to a Labor Day speech made during his 1952 bid for the Presidency, the titular head of the Democratic party urged that the President be given authority to convene a board of Public Responsibility "well in advance of the strike date in any key industry." The board would enter negotiations in their earliest stage, reminding the parties of the "public interest" in the dispute. It would provide whatever mediation services it deemed necessary. These efforts failing, it could recommend to the President further steps, including an order for continued production pending a settlement imposed by compulsory arbitration.

END OF AN ERA? Stevenson asserted that industry-wide bargaining made the proposal necessary because, in strike periods, it denied the public "alternative sources of supply." The recent steel strike, he said, has dramatized the fact that the nation is "at the end of an era" in labor-management relations. He predicted that "if there are more stoppages, Congress may be expected to reflect the public temper in legislation, which would not only stop strikes but might stop or seriously cripple collective bargaining, too."

A few days later New York's Republican Gov. Nelson Rockefeller echoed the Stevenson proposal with a plan to empower the President to make arbitration compulsory and binding in cases where

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Revitalize the devitalized

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Words can't express my pleasure with Robert Light's article (11/23), "Are we misusing science to pollute our environment?" Those of us interested in the natural ways of life and in vegetarianism are daily expressing sentiments akin to his. Mr. Flemming's recent comments and the "cranberry scare" are not news to us who have been quite vocal in elucidating the menace inherent in the use of DDT sprays, additives, preservatives and the like. Farmers, processers, etc., would all fare better were they to embark upon a campaign of revitalizing our devitalized, demineralized soils, and clamoring for continuing the ban on atom-bomb tests.

S. Rosenheck

For Gen. Holdridge

SEATTLE, WASH.

The headline in the GUARDIAN says: "Wanted: A leadership to respond to the nation's peace cry." That is the great need and who better could be trusted to do it than our valued friend, Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge?

We cannot get a fair deal from any of the well-known hopefuls. They have all shown themselves to be in cahoots with big business, the millionaires and a large segment interested in furthering the interests of a foreign power—Rome. People who swear allegiance to Rome can never be trusted to manage our country for us, the people.

I love my country and I feel very strongly on this. There is great danger.

Further information can be had by writing to Gen. Holdridge Minute Men, P.O. Box 1086, 14006 Ventura Blvd., Sherman Oaks, Calif.

Edna V. Hansen

General Holdridge has announced his candidacy for President on an "Independent, non-Partisan" program—Ed.

In a nut-bowl

EL CAJON, CALIF.

I'd like to give Ernest Seeman of Erwin, Tenn., the reason he seeks when he asks (11/16) "why in sam hill can't he (Uncle Sam) protect his hard working farmers from disaster and loss?"

Whenever these same hard working white farmers drop the aversion they have been told to acquire for the hard working Negro farmer and join him, politically, friend Seeman will find that his Uncle Sam will look up.

Whenever all of our misled white labor will join hands, politically, with Negro labor, Seeman will find his problems—political, social and economic, and, incidentally, the problems of most of the rest of us—solved.

As Lincoln so ably said: ". . . the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people."

There's the answer in a nutshell, or at least, a phrase.

Robert Karger

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

ATLANTA, Dec. 9 (AP)—A newly chartered Ku Klux Klan organization says it will set up headquarters in Fulton County and seek to establish chapters in Georgia and throughout the United States.

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Inc. listed its purpose as a non-profit, benevolent, and charity group in which there shall be united only white males of sound mind and good moral character.

The charter was granted in an order signed by Fulton Superior Court Judge Vilyn B. Moore.

—Bergen **Record,** 12/9/59

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry Winner this week: G. R., Orangeburg, N. Y.

Indulgence

SNOHOMISH, WASH.

The extra five is in spite of your position on Hungary.

R. R.

Ben Lewis

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Please accept this contribution in memory of a dear friend, Ben Lewis, whose life personified endless questioning and social growth.

Jeanette Harris

Senior swap plan

E. STROUDSBURG, PA.

Social Security class readers:

How about exchange visits on a non-profit basis? Some folks would like to get into warmer climates in the winter, others to escape the heat in the summer. We cannot afford lavish resorts and cannot find intelligent exchange of views in such places. There is a deep-felt need for such an innovation.

Max Hess

Poets, painters

CHICAGO, ILL.

In connection with your invigorating bouquet of book reviews headed "Usefulness of Poets":

Here is a far too little known title on the craft and appreciation of poetry—John Livingston **Lowes' Convention and Revolt in Poetry, Constable** & Co., London, U.S. distributors, Barnes & Noble.

In the area of painting, by the way, it has been said that research has established that no one has ever entered an art museum without saying, "I don't know much about art, but I know what I like," with the exception of one man who once stated, "I don't know much about art, but I'll stay here until it stops raining."

The superlative introduction to the effective and significant in painting is still, in my opinion, the youthful work of the diminutive petit-bourgeois titan Bernard Berenson, **The Italian Painters of the Renaissance**, which has become available in a variety of editions in prices from about $2 up.

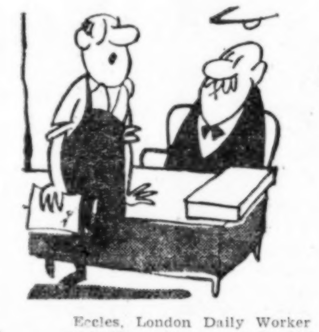
W. R.

Highest caliber

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I heard Nkomo speak and then checked an old GUARDIAN article about Nkomo and Southern Rhodesia; the article proved to be true reporting of the highest caliber. I commend Louis Burnham also for the "Portrait of a 'Liberal' State" (11/16). I spent the first 22 years of my life in North Carolina, leaving there in 1957, and I can therefore appreciate such thorough, truthful GUARDIAN coverage.

Eugene Spake



Eccles, London Daily Worker

". . . and the story wends its tragic way until, on Christmas Eve, Scrooge has a change of heart!"

Willard Uphaus

NEW YORK, N.Y.

To Governor Powell:

"I am amazed to see an upright and conscientious man prosecuted by your Attorney General for the very fact that he is upright and conscientious. I am referring to Dr. Willard Uphaus, whom I have known for many years and whom I admire as a man of high principles. The State of New Hampshire was always known for its observance of justice and fair dealing. I appeal to you, Mr. Governor, not to permit the good name of your State to be sullied by unjust persecution of Dr. Uphaus, a high-minded citizen, who is a credit to New Hampshire."

A. A. Heller

Good time had by all

BAY AREA, CALIF.

The reception for Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Shirley Graham at Vincent and Vivian Hallinan's at Ross Nov. 20 was a success, socially, culturally and financially, thanks to guests, hosts and the cooperative spirit of volunteers who planned the affair and in three counties helped with the mailing, telephoning and preparing refreshments.

The cooperating committee included Mrs. Benjamin Dreyfus, chairman; Mrs. A. W. Wertheimer, Mrs. Audrey Dreyfus, Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Ted Peterson, Tom Sanders.

Special music and community singing was provided by the Gate Five Trio, consisting of Glen Carlson, Chris Bratt and Jack Berrault.

Audrey Dreyfus and Emily Zimbler, assisted by Ted Peterson and C. M. Vickland, were the reception committee. ILWU's Lou Goldblatt was spokesman for the evening. Harriet Vickland and Connie Brown stayed for cleanup after the guests had gone.

Clarence Vickland

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

BENJAMIN FAIRLESS, president of the U. S. Steel Corp., producer of a third of the nation's steel supply, last week hiked the price $4 a ton. Prices of steel, backbone of industry, affect some 5,000 commodities, from automobiles to garbage cans; a price rise at the factory snowballs to formidable proportions before the consumer pays for it across the counter.

U.S. Steel blamed the price rise on the cost of the pension and insurance programs recently granted the CIO United Steel Workers. But President Truman's Steel Board reported in September that steel companies could put pension and welfare into effect without raising prices.

U.S. Steel's profits in the first nine months of 1949 have been 50% higher than in the same period of 1948, the previous all-time high. Executives of U. S. Steel refuse to say how much the CIO welfare program is increasing costs. But economists estimate that the take from the increased prices will be at least five times the cost of the welfare program.

—National Guardian, December 19, 1949.

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Vol. 12, No. 10 401 December 21, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

It's all first class

NOR RAIN NOR SLEET nor gloom of night—and apparently not even the 33-1/3% hike to 4 cents postage—has stayed by one jot or tittle the ever-rising mail volume to the GUARDIAN. The Mailbag—by a system which we don't fully comprehend ourselves, and therefore can't explain—selects a weekly round of comment, quip, kudos, character-assassination and calls for first aid. But the rest remains to haunt us: unprinted, because next week's space problem is always worse than last's; and (except for queries and contributions) unacknowledged, because how can an impecunious band of scriveners, however nimble at the game, take on a thousand pen-pals each, especially at prevailing postal rates?

Take for example the chap from Saskatchewan who sent back our Buying Service ad for Picasso's **Don Quichotte** for the "How Crazy Can You Get department!" Or the Los Angeles reader who thought we should have covered the banquet at which a famous New York **Times** editor said he was paid a handsome salary "to keep my opinions to myself." Sent us a clipping with a full report on the remarks, too. The speech was John Swinton's, delivered at the time the single-taxer Henry George ran for Mayor of New York, in 1886.

NOW DON'T GET US WRONG, we love the mail and want it to keep coming in ever-increasing stacks, even though it's tough to handle (see above). Our great and good friend Franklin Baxter, who died this year, always ended his notes with "Waive reply" and we treasure this option from all of you.

Two kicks came in on Cedric Belfrage, one calling him pro-Israel, the other anti. Mina Lewis warns that the government is against chemicals or cranberries and the like because they are cornering the market for chemical warfare. Robert Davis objects to ads for books of amours; A. Bruce Cox to a Gallery item on the Royal Navy's chamberpots.

ON THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC front Hobart McKean sent a 19-page single-space typescript on Hungary "to clear my desk"; another single-spacer sent "profundities" from 18th Century Edmund Burke on "Bolshevism and Partition"; a gilded bas relief of K. Marx came from A. Feil; and Harry Steinmetz sent a dialectical view of supermarkets. J. C. Stafford attacks profit-taking on "$4,000 flivvers"; Bob Karger reminds us that a "modest" 7% profit on sales can mean 50% in one year on an entire investment; L. A. H. says the taxpayer, not the lender, assumes the risk in government-backed credit; and Ed Edises says he has "suddenly become aware that, at least since the Civil War, the U.S. has been a welfare state. It has scrupulously guarded the welfare of the capitalists. . . . ."

Vincent Ignatius says the working class is the only one capable of international understanding; Julius Sobon says the issue is between the part of the world which has eliminated the class struggle, and that which hasn't; Ed Bernard says the Western powers are in the same fix now as in 1940, banking on a Maginot line, but will be outflanked economically, politically and socially; Ruby Heck quotes a general who said "If my soldiers would think, the entire army would be disbanded in two days;" and Ernie Seeman says: "Winnie says Harry's a great man and Harry says Winnie's a great man, so that makes two of the greatest little men in history."

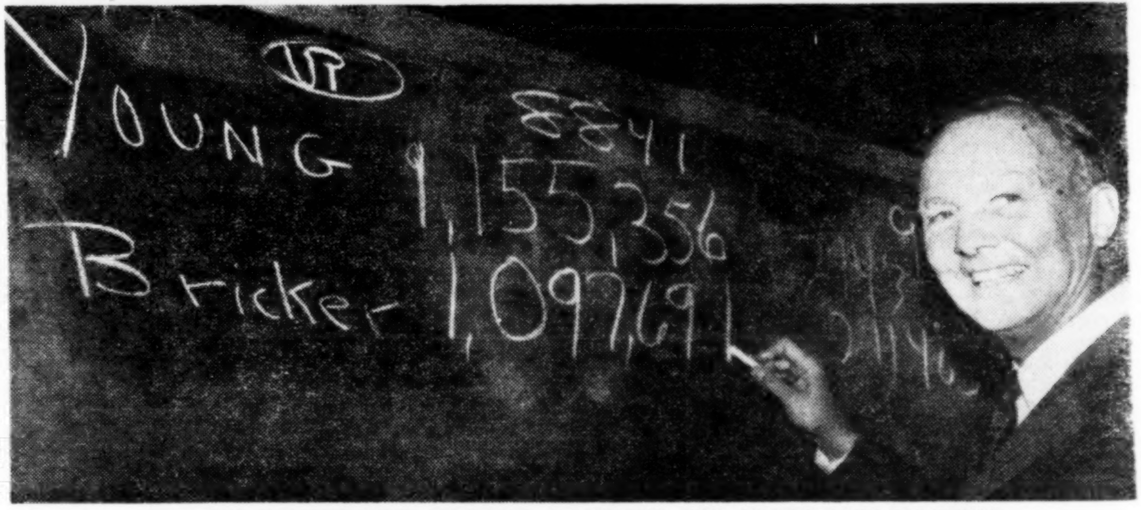
CLARENCE VICKLAND sends a recipe for fluffy omelet (with yogurt); Rena Meyerson one for oatmeal-raisin cookies with stone-ground flour; and "Peace" Patten one for "Scripture cake" (4½ cups of I Kings 4:22 etc.). Norman N. wants the Navy's answer on the Nadolinski Internal Combustion Steam Turbine, and sends us a carbon and them a 4c stamp. Frank Nasello says he has been brainwashed by the GUARDIAN, "and never felt cleaner, purer or more refreshed;" J. W. Lockwood reminds us of the case of Robert Stroud, Alcatraz lifer-author of bird books; Bert Pousma asks contributions for Navajo Assistance Inc., Box 106, Gallup, N.M.; Denver Smith Act folks send receipts for anonymous contributions sent via the GUARDIAN; a reader writes that he went to a GUARDIAN party at the Hallinan's and said "My name is Gold" and Vin said, "Not Harry!"

Finally: A letter last January from Rev. Tom Rehorn of Newtown, Kan., asked (and we sent) material for a Kiwanis Club debate with a gent he had challenged for making a speech full of holes on the Soviet Union. A month later he sent us a copy of his speech with his blessing and the following note: "I am now pastoring a Union Church at Hardy, Neb." Should the Rev. Tom have waived that reply?

—THE GUARDIAN

SENATOR YOUNG ANSWERS THE LEGION ON ECLC DINNER

'Look, Buster, I'll make that speech in New York'



HE GAVE HONEST JOHN BRICKER A LICKING, TOO, IN THE LAST ELECTION
Senator Young cuts a mean figure at the polls, at the blackboard and in print

THAT GHOSTLY LAUGHTER heard 'round the nation last week came from the framers of the Bill of Rights, and with good reason: a highly-placed American official had finally told the American Legion off.

The official was Sen. Stephen M. Young (D-Ohio). The occasion was a speech he had agreed to make before the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's annual dinner in New York Dec. 15, marking the 168th anniversary of the Bill of Rights. The target was Neil E. Wetterman of Cincinnati, Americanism chairman of the Cincinnati Legion.

Interpreting freedom of speech in its usual manner —freedom for everyone who agrees with them—the American Legion's Hamilton County Council had unanimously adopted a motion disapproving Young's speech because the ECLC had been described as a "communist front." They asked him to withdraw. What really bothered the Legion was ECLC's participation in a move to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

A VERY WARM REPLY: But they didn't reckon with a different brand of Americanism which Young practices. He is a Legion member himself, as a Field Artillery officer in World War I and a lieutenant colonel in Italy in World War II. The son of a judge and a lawyer with a distingiushed record in Cleveland, he served as a member of the defense counsel in the Cleveland Smith Act case and in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley conspiracy case.

When Young got Wetterman's letter, he replied thus on Dec. 9:

"So—you self-appointed censors and self-proclaimed super-duper 100% America Firsters censure me. You professional veterans who proclaim your vainglorious chauvinism have the effrontery to issue a press release gratuitously offering an expression of censure and making urgent demand that I cancel a speaking engagement previously made. I'll make that speech in New York.

"You should know, but probably do not, that I, as a United States Senator, have nothing whatever to do with the proposed abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Congressman James Roosevelt, who, as a Marine officer was second in command of Carlson's Raiders and was decorated and won promotion for bravery in combat, was the leader in the House in opposition to further appropriations for this committee. Where was each one of you when he was fighting in the Solomons?

"As a United States Senator, I recently addressed the Assn. of the Bar of the City of New York and participated in a half-hour television program under the auspices of this association. I expect to address the City Club of Cleveland and the Kiwanis Club of Rocky River in the near future. I would, if invited, accept an engagement to address a meeting of the National Assn. of Manufacturers or U.S. Chamber of Commerce, despite the fact that many of their directors are fascist-minded and, in reality, enemies of our American way of life and of our free enterprise system.

"I today accepted a speaking engagement in Steubenville before the Real Estate Board from the Upper Ohio Valley and representatives of home builders, banks and building and loan associations of Steubenville. Why don't you self-appointed censors convene a special meeting to protest? After all, probably most of those who will attend are Republicans. Am wondering if you self-proclaimed, breast-beating patriots issued a denunciatory press release when our President dined with the most powerful Communist in the entire world?

"I repudiate your resolution, Buster, and your pompous, self-righteous, holier-than-thou title of 'Americanism Chairman.' Why don't you as 'Americanism Chairman' read and try to understand that cornerstone of our liberties, the Constitution of the United States? If, in your press release, you asserted, or implied, that I am likely to become a tool of the Communist apparatus, you are a liar.

"Another thing—why don't you puffed up patriots write my American Legion Post demanding my expulsion? Or, do you self-appointed vigilantes demand that I submit a list of speaking engagements for clearance by your outfit before I, as a Senator of the United States, open my mouth in public?

"My observation as a member of the American Legion is that many of you loud-mouthed publicity-seeking professional veterans were chairborne in the Pentagon, or elsewhere, while millions of us were overseas in combat."

CONGRATULATIONS POUR IN: On Dec. 11 in Washington the Legion's national commander Martin B. McKneally charged Sen. Young with using "offensively intemperate" language. But for others the words were sweet music: the Senator's office reported that same morning that 30 telegrams and 12 phone calls had been received congratulating Young, and more were pouring in. One wire read: "The air is fresher, the world a better place to live because of your statement."

From Dr. Corliss Lamont, co-chairman with Harvey O'Connor of the ECLC, came this wire describing Young's statement: "A masterpiece and a classic in United States political documents."

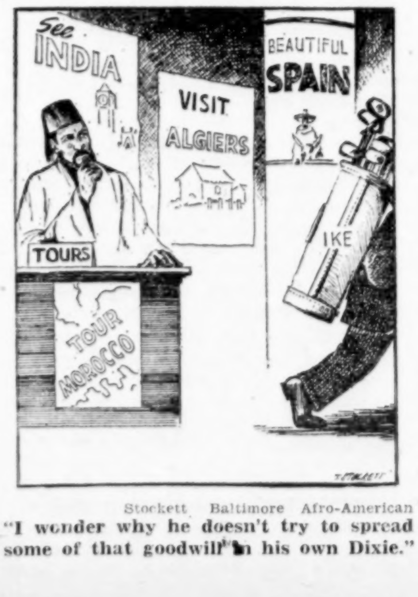
WHY THEY PREFER AID THROUGH AN AGENCY LIKE SUNFED

Needy nations want no strings attached

THE WIDENING GAP between rich and poor nations in the non-socialist world is becoming an ever more prevalent specter haunting the West. UN Special Fund director Paul Hoffman told the UN's Economic and Social Council recently:

"It is quite right for the rich nations to get richer, but it is disturbing and distressing to have the desperately poor people remain desperately poor."

Hoffman said that 60 UN member nations and 40 non-member territories associated with various UN specialized agencies would be considered "by any definition classified as less developed. More than a billion people live there." He noted that in these 100 countries the average annual per capita income rose from $110 in 1950 to $125-$130 this year. This $15-$20 gain, he said, was in sharp contrast to the average gain of $300 in West European and North American countries in general, and $530 in the U.S. in particular.



Stockett Baltimore Afro-American
"I wonder why he doesn't try to spread some of that goodwill in his own Dixie."

He warned that if "a really explosive situation is to be avoided" per capita income in underdeveloped nations must be raised to a minimum of $160 annually in the next ten years.

DRIVE FOR SUNFED: The revelations may have been startling to industrialist Hoffman but came as no surprise to representatives of the underdeveloped nations. For several years Asian-African members of the UN have been urging the establishment of a Special UN Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), which would start with $500,000,000. They argued that aid channeled through SUNFED would remove economic assistance from the sphere of the cold war.

The U.S. was unwilling to let go of this weapon. Last year, when the Asian-African demand became more articulate, the U.S.—supported by other Western delegates—persuaded them to compromise on a more modest Special Fund and an expanded UN Technical Assistance fund.

As an appeaser, Washington pledged to contribute up to $100,000,000 to the two funds—provided its share did not exceed 40% of the total contributed by other members. Hoffman's report on a year's activity of the two funds demonstrated their woeful inadequacy.

THE OTHER CATCH: Last year their funds reached $56,000,000. On a 40% basis, the U.S. contributed $22,000,000, although it had pledged $38,000,000. The Special Fund had a further catch: it could be used only to promote projects in underdeveloped countries—such as water, soil and mineral surveys — that would help attract private capital investments.

This year the Special Fund alone had received requests for 122 projects costing $130,000,000. With only $26,000,000 available, Hoffman said it had approved 13, at a cost of $8,000,000, and hoped to recommend 30 more next year. For 1960, Hoffman's target was a modest $100,0000,000 for the two funds. Thus far, the Special Fund has pledges of $35,000,000 and the Technical Assistance Fund $33,000,000. The U.S. had offered $40,000,000 but, on a 40% basis, its actual contribution is not expected to exceed $30,000,000.

OPENING WEDGE: The shortcomings of these funds are obvious. In underdeveloped lands surveys of mineral resources are undoubtedly needed. The Technical Fund—which coordinates the work of such specialized UN agencies as World Health Organization, Food and Agricultural Organization and Education. Scientific and Cultural Organization—can make a significant contribution. But with such limited funds, they have been able to set up only pilot projects; and many Asian-Africans have objected to the use of the Special Fund exclusively as an opening wedge for private U. S. capital.

Last month, 46 nations, mainly Asian-African-Latin American, tabled a UN resolution calling on member states to "reappraise" the possibility of SUNFED. Immediately the chief Western delegates rushed to the Economic and Social Council where they usually send lesser ranking delegates. British Minister of State David Ormsby-Gore spoke for the West:

"We recognize the deep and burning sincerity and beliefs of the supporters of what has been called SUNFED . . . But I should be deceiving you if I led you to believe that we could at present contemplate taking part in any multilateral capital development fund."

NEXT YEAR'S FUND: But the demand for SUNFED is bound to increase. The underdeveloped nations have noted well that unilateral U. S. aid (1) has been primarily military and (2) has been extended to maintain in power unpopular regimes. They have noticed no change in this policy.

President Eisenhower plans to ask Congress for $4,100,000,000 for foreign aid next year. This year Congress granted $3,200,000,000, the larger part for military assistance. Next year's increase is already earmarked exclusively for military aid. More than that, Treasury Secy. Robert B. Anderson has announced that American aid funds must be spent in the U. S. The current quip is that Anderson's middle initial stands for "Buy American."

The increasing demand for SUNFED reflects the growing maturity of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries. They want economic aid and cooperation without strings. They are no longer scared by the bogey of "communism" which the West has been using as a smokescreen for its military penetration and economic exploitation.

DAVIS NATL. SECY.

CP names Hall genl. secretary at convention

OF THE 17TH National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S., held in New York City Dec. 8-13, the N.Y. **Times** saw "Reds in U.S. . . . shifting to Right," while the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** viewed the proceedings as undertaking to give the U.S. Party "more punch and closer ties to Moscow."

The convention, with well over 200 delegates, was closed to the press, which drew its conclusions from briefings by a Party official and copies of the principal resolutions.

A newly-elected national committee of 60 members at the conclusion of the convention named Gus Hall of Ohio as general secretary and Benjamin J. Davis of New York as national secretary. Eugene Dennis, previous general secretary and occupying the post of national secretary since 1957, was named chairman. Veteran leader William Z. Foster continues as chairman emeritus.

DENNIS IS ILL: The anticipated replacing of Dennis with Hall was utilized just prior to the convention by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee to subpena Dennis, who refused to answer questions about the Party's internal affairs. Following his appearance, Dennis suffered a heart attack and partial paralysis of his left leg. He did not attend the convention.

The choice of Hall as active head of the Party was apparently a move to end dissension which came into the open at the 1957 convention, following which **Daily Worker** editor John Gates and others withdrew from membership. The changes in leadership followed a 1959 convention resolution taxing the leaders with factionalism, lack of criticism and self-criticism, delay in handling ideological problems and inability to establish a united front policy.

GUS HALL
CP's new general secretary

THE RESOLUTIONS: Convention speeches and resolutions attacked Nelson Rockefeller as a "high-octane cold warrior"; Vice Pres. Nixon for his "shameful labor record and doubletalk on peace; and the Truman-Acheson cold war line in the Democratic Party. The convention urged labor and Negro forces to utilize "the internal struggles and the fluid situation" in the Democratic Party to influence issues and candidates.

Lecture on Dr. Aslan

DR. HERMAN GOODMAN, authority in the field of public health, will lecture on Dr. Anna Aslan's Rumanian Gerovital treatment of aging persons at 2 p.m. on Saturday, Dec. 26, at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in New York. The meeting is being sponsored by the Women's Press Club. Admission is by invitation card, which may be obtained by writing Violet Lopez, 119-20 Union Turnpike, Kew Gardens 15, N.Y. Enclose self-addressed stamped envelope.

HARRY TRUMAN (c) JOINS A MASS MEETING OF DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS
From left to right: N. J. Gov. Robert F. Meyner; Sen. Hubert Humphrey; Florida Gov. Leroy Collins; Michigan Gov. G. Mennen Williams; Truman; Sen. Stuart Symington; Sen. John F. Kennedy; and California Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown

Stevenson proposal

(Continued from Page 1)

industrial disputes result in "complete stalemate" endangering the national "health and safety."

In support of the Rockefeller proposal as "a last resort," the N.Y. **Times** (Dec. 14) asked: "What practical alternative is there to compulsory arbitration?" It warned: "A resumption of the [steel] strike on Jan. 26 would call for an immediate answer by Congress to that question."

NO MOVE FOR PEACE: The Stevenson and Rockefeller pronouncements forecast a bi-partisan drive in the coming session of Congress to cap the recently-passed Kennedy - Landrum - Griffin law with a no-strike enactment. They also reflect the similarity of views which prevail among the most liberal of Democrats and the most reactionary of Republicans on key issues.

Stevenson's statement came on the heels of a New York meeting of the Democratic Advisory Council which issued a 10,000-word proposed platform for electing a Democratic President in 1960. The Council, embracing the liberal wing of the party, scored the Republicans for their lack of "the bold and creative leadership required . . . in the nuclear age," but failed to suggest a single initiative in the quest for peace.

THE BIG STICK BOYS: Though three Presidential aspirants who attended the meeting—Stevenson and Sens. John F. Kennedy (Mass.) and Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.)— have spoken out for the halting of nuclear weapons tests, the Council statement failed to do so. On the contrary, it criticized the Eisenhower administration for "inadequate" arms spending and "cutting back of our overseas responsibilities.." While not opposing a summit meeting, it emphasized the responsibility of political leadership "to inform the people honestly of what it believes can reasonably be expected from diplomatic conferences at all levels."

As if to guarantee minimum results in advance, the Democrats opposed "any retreat from our fundamental commitments in Berlin." All negotiations with the Soviets, they said, must be conducted against the background of the assumption that "the Soviet Union is determined to refuse the right of self determination to captive nations and in the long run to replace the free nations by a system of communism."

THE TRUMAN LINE: The Democratic pronouncements on foreign affairs were a triumph for the Truman-Acheson-Symington forces within the party. Though toning down some of Acheson's more bellicose views, they emphasized that the Democrats view a tougher cold war line as the path to peace.

Truman made it plain that Democrats who dared dissent from this position would be in for an old-fashioned, whistle-stop tongue lashing from the ex-President. At a banquet honoring Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on her 75th birthday, he attacked the "self-appointed guardians" of liberalism who had criticized his advocacy of resumption of nuclear tests. He called them a peril to "party unity" and theratened to single them out at the 1960 convention. Regarding the Democrats' Presidential campaign, he said: "I am damn sure they are not going to have anything to say about it."

THE "POST" REPLIES: The N.Y. **Post** one of the principal targets of Truman's wrath, responded by defending the not-so-even path its liberalism had assumed. It had criticized Truman on nuclear tests, but had also supported him on the Korean war, the **Post** reminded its readers. As for the issue of party unity, the **Post** remarked: "We have no passion for protracted argument with Mr. Truman. But the issues he raised are authentic. For he in effect proclaimed that there is no room for liberal dissent in the Democratic Party. That privilege, it would seem, is reserved for Southern Democrats who flout and ignore the Democratic platform every day of the year."

WALL STREET JOURNAL
SERRANO

Wall Street Journal
"Which analyst do you want? Stock, tax, or psycho?"

Under the burden of the still-dominant influence of a testy and headstrong ex-President, the conservative big city machines and a reactionary Southern wing, the Democrats are stumbling toward 1960, rich in the quantity of its candidates but poor in the quality of its principles. No less than seven aspirants spoke at the testimonial to Mrs. Roosevelt.

COLD WAR AND PROGRESS? All confined themselves to polite tributes to the guest and a few political platitudes. In addition to Stevenson and the Senators, three governors rounded out the group: Brown of California, Williams of Michigan and Meyner of New Jersey. Only Texas Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson was needed to complete the list; but he was off in Kansas talking to farmers and testing the political waters.

The Truman outburst is a portent that the in-fighting is likely to get rougher as the Democrats move toward their convention and the 1960 election. In the absence of a positive peace program, they will find it increasingly difficult to convince the voters that their liberal program for domestic social progress is realistic. The Advisory Council program included commendable proposals for Federal aid to education, housing, health services, the unemployed and the aged. But these proposals are not new and the results of the 1952 and 1956 elections seem to indicate that the voters apparently were more persuaded by the peace campaigns of President Eisenhower — however demagogic they were.

Clearly, the decisive Democratic policy makers believe that, with the big Congressional majorities won in 1958 and with 36 out of 50 governors in their camp, they can ride into the White House on the strength of domestic issues alone. The Stevenson proposal for ending strikes would seem to indicate that their continued adherence to a belligerent foreign policy tends to render them ineffective on liberal domestic issues as well.

MEANY IN BRUSSELS: The one big force that might help resolve the Democrats political dilemma—the labor movement—has shown no inclination to do so. On the contrary, the top trade union spokesmen are among the nation's most hard-bitten cold warriors.

This was made clear once again in a heated exchange between AFL-CIO president George Meany and a British unionist at the recent Brussels meeting of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Meany complained of the failure of ICFTU leaders to push more vigorously anti-communist political campaigns against unions in underdeveloped nations. He denounced the "present propaganda campaign of Moscow for peaceful coexistence" and called upon the unions to support expanded armaments programs.

Harry Douglas of the British Trades Union Congress chided Meany for his "negative" approach and reminded him (N.Y. **Times**, Dec. 13) that "the real question is to choose between living with communism or inviting world catastrophe." He pointed out that a summit meeting could hardly take place "if Mr. Meany's brand of truculent anti-communism prevailed."

REAL DEBATE NEEDED: Unfortunateately, Meany has to go to Brussels to be challenged by a labor leader of stature. Among his colleagues in the top leadership of the U.S. unions there is no significant dissent. And among prominent liberal forces, such as the N.Y. **Post**, there is little disposition "to engage in protracted argument with Mr. Truman."

But unless there does arise among the rank and file in the unions, among the peace advocates and liberal forces, a lively opposition and an insistence on protracted debate on the central issues of the day—war or peace, nuclear testing or disarmament, coexistence or disaster—the prospects are slim that the Democrats will offer a meaningful alternative to "Republican reaction" in the 1960 elections.

PROTEST CUTS 'LIFE TERM'

Uphaus jailed for one year in N. H. contempt hearing

By William A. Price
Special to the Guardian

CONCORD, N.H.

"IT IS NOT my purpose to be defiant or stubborn or contumacious or to put myself above the law, but before God and before my friends here, I can do nothing else than say 'No'."

With these words, Dr. Willard Uphaus, 69-year-old Methodist lay leader, answered a New Hampshire judge's plea that he end his four-year refusal to "inform on innocent people" by turning over to the state's witch-hunting Attorney General a package of 3-by-5 index cards containing the names of summer guests at the World Fellowship camp in Conway, N.H., of which Dr. Uphaus was director. And then he went to jail.

He appeared Dec. 14 at a unique "purge hearing" in Merrimack County Court House, Concord, before Superior Court Justice George R. Grant Jr. Judge Grant had sentenced him to prison in 1956 for an indeterminate term until he purged himself of contempt by turning over the guest lists—a sentence which in effect meant life imprisonment.

POWER OF PROTEST: Backing Judge Grant was the weight of a contempt conviction upheld by both the New Hampshire and the U.S. Supreme Courts. Behind Dr. Uphaus, however, was the power of his own conviction "out of 69 years of living . . . that it is mean and contemptible to bring innocent people into public scorn." Added to this was the strength of a growing protest which had brought a flood of letters to Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman and Gov. Wesley Powell and the support of friends who had come long distances to fill the court room and overflow into the court house lobby.

In a dilemma which obviously worried both Wyman and Judge Grant, the state backed down somewhat and Judge Grant reduced the sentence to a maximum one year's imprisonment. Uphaus was immediately taken into custody and transferred to Merrimack County Jail, 14 miles north of Concord in Boscawen.

SILENT PROTEST: Before the hearing Rev. Lloyd Worley, minister of the First Methodist Church of Hartford, Conn., led a silent protest in front of the court house. After this, Rev. Worley read from the First Amendment, on which the Uphaus legal defense has been based, and from the Bible.

Repeatedly through the two hours of proceedings, Wyman backed down from his own role as originator of the demand for the lists. He said "it is now for the court to inquire of the witness."

When defense attorney Hugh Bownes of Laconia, N.H., and Royal France of New York referred to Dr. Uphaus' sentence, Judge Clark objected. "You persist in using the word 'sentence'," he said. Agreement was reached that the judge's ruling which imprisoned Dr. Uphaus would be called a "finding."

APPEAL TAKEN: The defense attorneys announced, at GUARDIAN press time, they would immediately apply in the New Hampshire Supreme Court for a stay of execution of a new legal ground: that the original legislation under which Dr. Uphaus had been convicted had been amended to omit the ground on which Wyman originally had called Dr. Uphaus.

But as the judge's "finding" was pronounced, two deputy sheriffs moved in towards Dr. Uphaus. When he was finally led downstairs, about 50 friends were still in the lobby. Flanked by the sheriffs, the lean, silver-haired theologian paused on the steps as the group sang "America."

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS
He will stand firm

One of the many reporters covering the session asked which hymn was being sung.

In a small anteroom, Dr. Uphaus said: "Send my friends my warmest greetings and thanks and tell them I will stand firm."

He paused and added: "No, they know that already."

Worth it, Davis says

Special to the Guardian

NEW YORK

DR. HORACE CHANDLER DAVIS, 33, of Providence, R.I., whose final appeal for Supreme Court review of his contempt of Congress conviction was turned down Dec. 7, said last week that his six-month person sentence is "not too long a hitch to serve in defense of my country's free speech."

Dr. Davis, one of 34 First Amendment defendants facing jail, was a mathematics instructor at the University of Michigan when subpoenaed to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the fall of 1953. He refused to cooperate on the basis that the committee was violating the First Amendment in demanding answers to questions on political belief and association.

LIKE BARENBLATT CASE: Dr. Davis, who received his Ph.D from Harvard in 1950, was fired by Michigan. He has since lectured at Columbia University and was granted a year's fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. His contempt conviction and sentence is similar to that of Lloyd Barenblatt, psychology instructor at Vassar College, who entered Federal prison on Nov. 10.

500 at Chicago rally

Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO

FIVE HUNDRED persons bucked high winds and snow here on Dec. 6 to attend a Rally for the First Amendment and give a standing ovation to Dr. Willard Uphaus and Carl Braden. Both men have been convicted of contempt for refusing on First Amendment grounds to give information to witch-hunting investigators.

The rally was opened by State Sen. James O. Monroe, a veteran of 18 years in the Illinois legislature, editor of the Collinsville **Herald** and long an opponent of the state's repressive Broyles Bills.

Chairman of the rally was the Rev. William T. Baird, pastor of the Essex Community Church and one of the leaders here of the movement in defense of First Amendment victims. Prof. Kermit Eby of the University of Chicago made an appeal for funds. The rally was sponsored by 80 influential leaders in religious, academic and Negro life.

Despite its impressive backing, the rally went unreported by this city's four big dailies. Although city desks showed interest, no reporters showed up for a news conference with Dr. Uphaus. An advance story on the rally which appeared in an early edition of the **Sun-Times** disappeared from later editions.

SOVIET LEADER SEES RELATIONS IMPROVED

Mikoyan visit described as 'ten days that shook Mexico'

By John Hill
Special to the Guardian

MEXICO CITY

TEN DAYS that shook Mexico is how one local reporter summed up the recent visit of Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas I. Mikoyan. This was the first time a top-ranking Soviet government leader has visited Mexico. The official purpose was to inaugurate the Soviet scientific, technical and cultural exposition which has been brought up to date since its run in New York, with new exhibits of the latest lunar explorations.

But Mikoyan also brought with him a full panel of trade experts, and he packed into his ten-day stay an exhausting program of visits to industrial installations, conversations with government and business leaders, handshakes with hundreds of ordinary Mexicans, and a dozen public speeches. For those not interested in cosmos or commerce, there was a delegation of Soviet musicians, headed by Dmitri Shostakovitch, Dmitri Kabalevski and Aleksander Gauk.

Except for a couple of right-wing large newspapers, the Soviet visitors were greeted with traditional Mexican hospitality. The Mexican Senate welcomed the Soviet leader in the Senators' salon, decorated with flowers and with tables set for luncheon. To Mikoyan's appeal for support of the Soviet Union's proposals for total disarmament, they responded with a symbolic gift—a huge silver platter on which were mounted two fighting cocks, with their spurs cut off.

BIRTHDAY BANQUET: One of the high points of the visit came at the end of a four-day tour of steel and petroleum industries. The last stop at the oil center of Poza Rica coincided with his 64th birthday and the wives of the engineers cooked a banquet for him.

During the tour Mikoyan noted the important role played by stateowned industries in the Mexican economy and had been impressed with the nationalist outlook of its technicians and the friendliness of the workers.

With his guide, Pascual Gutiérrez Roldán, director of PEMEX, the government oil monopoly, he discussed not only production problems but ideological questions. At their final dinner together, Mikoyan and Gutiérrez Roldán expressed their mutual admiration, the one for Mexico ("where they aren't afraid of the word 'revolution' "), the other for the Soviet Union ("where they preserve the meaning of the word 'patriotism' "); the one appreciative of the progressive drive of this country ("I drink to the fountain of Mexico's greatness"), the other, now shed of his anti-Soviet prejudices, ("that for the good of humanity the people [of theU.S.S.R.] fulfill its destiny"). Both proclaimed their hope that friendship between the two countries will grow.

MIKOYAN LAUGHS WITH A STEELWORKER'S WIFE
He got a traditional welcome wherever he went

The way in which the Soviet visitors were welcomed here is an echo of the relaxation of tension between Moscow and Washington. It represents a sharp change from the previous Mexican official attitude, which often sought to conceal the most insignificant divergence from the United States for fear of reprisals. Secondly, with the lessening of international tension, the fact that certain areas of Mexico's economic development are stymied by the one-sided character of its foreign relations has moved more into the foreground.

Under these circumstances, the Soviet approach appealed both to those Mexicans who consider active contact with the socialist countries essential in itself and to those who would merely use the threat of establishing such contact to pressure the U.S. into liberalizing its own policies and allowing Mexico greater freedom to deal with Western Europe and Japan. In both respects, the cordial Mexican reception of Mikoyan and the Soviet exhibition seems part of a wider Latin American movement, to judge by the simultaneous visit of a Brazilian trade mission to Moscow.

RELATIONS DEFINED: So far as is known, no contracts were signed during Mikoyan's stay. Mikoyan seemed reluctant to reply to public questioning about concrete trade prospects. He thought that the Soviet Union could buy Mexican copper, cotton, canned fruit, and sisal, and could supply machinery and industrial materials, but he repeatedly indicated that it is not anxious to take the initiative. Similarly, he declared that his country does not offer economic aid, but will sympathetically consider any requests for credits.

Nevertheless it seems likely that the Mikoyan visit laid the basis for an expansion in Mexican-Russian economic relations. The latest issue of **Comercio Exterior**, organ of the Mexican National Bank of Foreign Commerce, observes that less developed countries could sell both consumer goods and raw materials to the U.S.S.R. Further it suggests the possibility of a three-way trade in which Latin American raw materials would be sold to countries such as Japan, which in turn would export consumer goods to the Soviet Union in exchange for the capital goods the latter would supply to Latin America.

Mikoyan, in any case, left visibly satisfied with his reception here, which he said had exceeded his expectations, and declared that during his visit the possibilities of widening Mexican-Soviet relations in the economic, technical and cultural fields had been defined with precision.

HOW THE CULTURAL EXCHANGE IS WORKING

U.S. drama, art, music win friends in Moscow

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

THERE IS a quiet boom in American culture in Moscow at the moment and the new two-year agreement signed recently ensures that it is to continue. Few realized what a major breakthrough in U.S.-Soviet relations the first cultural agreement signed nearly two years ago represented. These are some of the things going on here:

Arthur Miller's "View From The Bridge" has been playing to packed audiences for weeks now, in one of the smaller theaters. His "Death of a Salesman" will be opening in a few days in the Moscow Art Theater, finest in Moscow. The Metropolitan Opera soprano, Mattiwilda Dobbs, has made a wonderfully successful series of appearances here in concerts and at the Bolshoi Opera—a treat for Bolshoi audiences and an honor for Miss Dobbs, for Western opera stars are not often heard here.

At the Pushkin Museum, there is a collection of all the American paintings hung in Soviet art galleries. They nicely fill the main exhibition room and range from some exquisite Whistlers to Fred Ellis cartoons. Many of them are normally housed in Leningrad's Hermitage. The Pushkin was packed on opening day and has been so ever since, visitors lingering longest over the works of Rockwell Kent.

'MARTY' A HIT: Gary Cooper and Edward G. Robinson were in town recently for the opening of a season of American films, the first of which, "Marty," has had an excellent reaction from both public and critics. It is showing now in at least half a dozen Moscow movie houses and is very popular. "At last a bit of real American life," is the reaction.

There is also American music. Recordings of "West Side Story" with narration have been played over the radio frequently lately and programs of selected American music have become a regular thrice-monthly radio feature.

In an article in a recent **International Affairs** Yuri Zhukov, head of the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, pointed out that in 1958 alone there had been 25 delegations and groups exchanged between the two countries. They included educators, experts in the field of mining, ferrous metals, plastics, medicine and agriculture. Apart from these exchanges, 55 different Soviet groups visited the U.S. in 1958 and 39 U.S. groups visited the Soviet Union. These did not include some 5,000-odd tourists (7,000 this year up to Sept. 1.) Up to August this year 50 Soviet groups visited the U.S., 17 of them to take part in scientific and other conferences, and 35 American delegations came to the Soviet Union.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

IT WORKS: This adds up to a very broad range of contacts, and all the signs here are that it does what it was supposed to do: promote friendlier feelings between the American and Soviet people, provide a wider understanding of each other's ways of life. The communique on the new agreement specifically mentions that negotiations were conducted "in accordance . . . with the exchange of opinions between . . . Dwight D. Eisenhower and . . . Nikita S. Khrushchev."

Obviously the most important thing in the new agreement is the decision to cooperate in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy: "One of the most significant and important parts of the agreement," said Fred Merrill, chief U.S. negotiator, at the press conference after the signing. Zhukov, who headed the Soviet negotiating team, interrupted him to say heartily: "I agree."

In the science section there is also provision for an exchange of scholars in the social sciences and humanities. In the previous agreement, there was provision for only two exchanges in industry and trade fields. This time there are to be eight. They are going to look into each other's automobile industry; aluminum mining and processing; production and processing of oil; traffic control; servicing and overhaul of civil airfields and transport planes; building of highways and ways of handling future traffic problems; production and utilization of liquified natural gases; operation and maintenance of diesel-electric trains. There will be many other studies and exchanges of information.

OTHER EXCHANGES: This is real progress, when the world's two mightiest industrial giants decide to disclose each other's industrial and construction techniques. The more remarkable when, such a very short time ago, they seemed on the verge of war. There is to be a vast expansion of educational exchanges and Merrill said he was "especially gratified by the connections made by four great Soviet universities and four great American universities." They are Moscow-Columbia, Leningrad - Harvard, Kiev-Yale and Tashkent-Indiana and the agreement stipulates: "Nothing in this paragraph excludes the conclusion of additional agreements between American universities and colleges and Soviet universities and other institutions of higher learning." There is a broad section on public health exchanges and Merrill noted: "The possibilities for cooperation here are very extensive indeed."

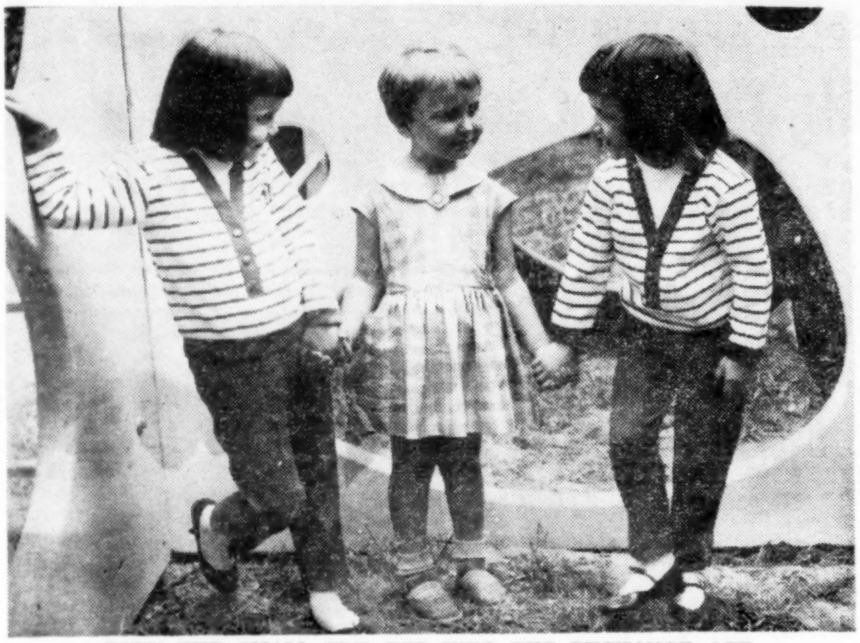
OPERA DE PARIS
FRAGILE
ARTISTES

In the performing arts, the Soviet State Symphony Orchestra, the Moscow Art Theater and the Georgian Folk Dance Ensemble will go to the U.S. and "My Fair Lady," an American ballet company and the U.S. Marine Band will come to the U.S.S.R. There will also be an exchange of string quartets. "Soviet cultural attractions in the U.S. are immensely popular," noted Merrill, "and the American people welcome more exchanges in this field." Zhukov commented: "U.S. artists are equally popular in the Soviet Union and we welcome them."

Exchanges of films, radio and television programs, with stipulated amounts of program time and number of films to be shown per month, are far ahead of the previous agreement.

NEXT STEP, TRADE: What would please everyone here now would be similar steps taken in trade exchanges. The U.S., incidentally, is lagging well behind it's European allies.

A short time ago, the West German **Industriekurier**, for instance, published a special 38-page supplement—in Russian and in German—packed with articles in praise of West German trade with the Soviet Union. Among the authors were the West German Ambassador to Moscow, Hans Kroll, and high officials from the Bonn Foreign Ministry and Ministry of Economics, and corresponding officials from the Soviet side.


EVEN THE SMALL FRY GET INTO THE EXCHANGE ACT
U.S. twins Patricia and Stephanie Conlow with Russian playmate in Moscow

The greatest industrial and banking firms in West Germany took half- and quarter-page advertising space—in Russian—for the issue. Among the articles were those pushing the advantages of Hamburg as an advance-port for Soviet shipping to the Atlantic; advocating credits for Soviet purchases and cooperation in transport media. The whole supplement, backed by the biggest industrialists in the country—with the three-quarter official blessing of the Bonn government—was an open bid for a vast expansion of the already considerable trade with the Soviet Union.

If the present boom in American culture in Moscow were to be followed by even a modest trade boom, this would be an excellent thing all round. But it seems the State Department has dug its heels in very deep on this question.

GIRD FOR 'QUASI-SUPERNATURAL' BATTLE

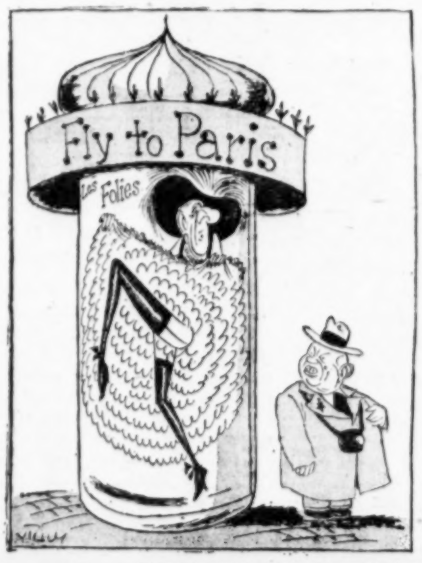
K's visit to France spurs Rightists to drive for unity

Special to the Guardian

PARIS

MR. K'S PROPOSED visit here next March is being used in a new drive to unite right-wing Catholics, Algerian "ultras," Vichy hangovers, Nazi collaborationists and assorted fascists against "satanic communism." In terms of propaganda, the drive got off the ground with some success in a two-day "study conference" organized in Paris by the "Center of Superior Studies in Social Psychology." More than 1,000 persons attended, filling "just half the available seats" according to a reporter from **L'Express.**

Georges Sauge, "apostle of national Catholicism," sounded the call to a "quasi-supernatural" battle against "the Prince of Darkness, the Father of the Lie, the Seducer of Nations." He said: "We are forming the cadres of a new order, a Christian order; all must be made over from the bottom to the top. France will find again its face as elder daughter of the Church in the leadership of nations and peoples . . ."



Vicky in New Statesman, London

Fascist leader Pierre Poujade, declaring his movement's support of the drive, cried: "Whose fault is it that we are where we are" and inspired an answering shout from the "students" of "The Jews, the Jews!" Pétain's former lawyer Isorni described the Fifth Republic as "the forerunner of communism" and accused de Gaulle of "breaking up NATO." Another speaker demanded a ban on the Communists, who "fought not for France but for Russia."

SIMPLE PROBLEM: A leader of the drive explained to the **Express** reporter: "The problem is simple—after de Gaulle it will be either the Communists or us. We have to recreate a vigorous Christian state compared with which Pétain's efforts were but timid sketches." The gathering decided to form "citizens" committees" with the immediate goal of putting the utmost obstacles in the way of Mr. K's visit.

For the moment the main theme in use is that Mr. K's proposed stay of a fortnight is "too long," and cannot be prevented from becoming a healthy boost for the Communist Party of France. It will be the first-ever visit to France by a top Soviet leader.

Los Angeles area readers!

THE GUARDIAN is happy to announce a new representative in the Los Angeles area. He is Jack Fox (465 So. Detroit St., Los Angeles 36, Tel: WEbster 8-8065). Jack is eager to form permanent GUARDIAN committees in several neighborhoods to promote interesting meetings and to get new readers, and has asked GUARDIAN readers in the area to phone or write to him to pitch in and help. Long one of the liveliest of the GUARDIAN angels, Jack says great things are in store. Won't you get in touch with him soon?

A GUARDIAN INTERVIEW WITH A PORTUGUESE EXILE:

How Delgado plans to oust Salazar

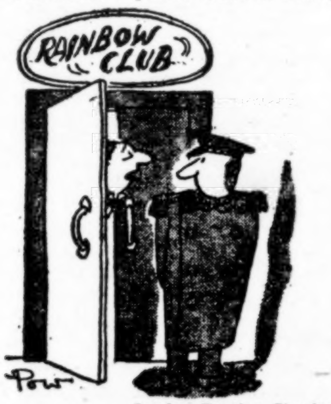
By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

HUMBERTO DELGADO, the 53-year-old Portuguese air force general who challenges the Salazar dictatorship in his country, has intrigued all political circles here with his "new-look" revolutionary style. An exile in Brazil since his defeat in spectacularly corrupt presidential "elections," Delgado began in London last month a European tour to put the case for a new deal in Portugal.

"Young Tories," Labor and Liberal party leaders, the Fabian Society and the Institute of Intl. Affairs all arranged meetings with him and were fascinated by his cheerfully frank subversive approach. In fluent and torrential English the general told everyone that he expected an uprising in Portugal "soon" and that the army would start it.

He rejects the idea of some less bold compatriots that Portugal's liberation must wait for the Spanish people to act against Franco: "It's the other way round, for we accept the idea of civil war and they don't." He denounces Salazar's use of torture and perpetuation of mass misery and "a medieval way of life," and says 75-90% of Portuguese are fed up and ready to move.



London Evening Standard

"The red carpet, Jenkins—we're throwing out His Excellency."

Press interviews with the volatile visitor have startled a public used to heavy whitewash of the country which is "Britain's oldest ally" and a NATO "defender of democracy."

SECRET POLICE: Receiving the GUARDIAN in a hotel crawling with impeccable glassy-eyed diplomats, the general was accompanied by his wife, who still lives in Lisbon and flew here to join him for the tour. Mrs. Delgado, "non-political" but a match for her husband in courage, was confident that nothing would happen to her and the family on her return, although she is used to being trailed by Salazar's PIDE (secret police).

During the post-election weeks when the general was taking refuge in the Brazilian embassy in Lisbon, she spent the days with him there and PIDE sleuths each day solemnly noted the presence of her car outside the embassy: "It was like a film." Her university-student daughter has been questioned by PIDE but another daughter and a son in the air force have not been bothered much.

Salazar runs his police state with prudence wherever there is likelihood of adverse publicity abroad, and is especially anxious to keep relations sweet with Brazil.

'OUR GENERAL': Dapperly lounge-suited, the general wore in his lapel the ribbon of Portugal's Gold Distinguished Service Order and remarked: "I would wear the silver one if it matched this suit."

I asked him why he expected the army to start the revolt and call upon him to head a new government, and he said: "I expect nothing from the generals and colonels, men of my own generation, because I got quicker promotion than they did and they are jealous. The rest of the army will act from patriotism, because they want to be but cannot now be proud of their country, and they may have to lock up the generals. They will call on me because they know me as the man above faction in the opposition—the people call me 'our general'—who will be able to keep order when Salazar falls.

"The regime is getting steadily weaker and the Church is also against it: Manoel Serra, president of the Catholic Youth, was tortured by the PIDE last March and is still in prison. I have had reports of three attempted revolts in the past 18 months."

Is an army revolt, on the record as we have seen it elsewhere, likely to bring democracy? "It is necessary because there is no other way to begin the change. People always look for military men to be something fascist, but I will tell you—I hate politics." An index finger brandished over his head and slammed on the table emphasized this sincere-seeming statement. "My aim is to amnesty political prisoners, establish a free press and election law, then leave after a year or 18 months and wash my hands."

NO GROUPS: Are all opposition groups united behind the general? "There are no groups, everyone in the opposition is a person, and I am neutral—I represent a converging of the people. I have sued both capitalists for calling me a communist and communists for calling me a fascist. I never made contact with any party, only with individuals. The Communist Party is illegal in Portugal, but with regard to them under a new regime I would rather not answer—it is a matter on which I shall need to take advice. Both the Right and the Left are small in Portugal—a few communists make a lot of noise because they are brave—and I hope to start with a broad central party."

Asked for his views on the aftermath of Castro's revolt in Cuba, Delgado said: "In this I am of one mind with them—torturers cannot participate in any new regime. For instance, I know one man in the police who has killed at least 35 prisoners: such people cannot participate. In Brazil one of the leaders is a Gestapo man and this I can't bear. I do not believe in any kind of authoritarian regime. It is true that most of our people have never had any experience of democracy, but to learn how to walk you must fall down many times. I prefer to run the risks of democracy and let them learn, otherwise you have dictatorship without end."

THE COLONIES: On self-determination for Portugal's colonies, he said: "This is a very complicated question—I will just be the head of government and it must be for parliament to decide. Also a very big question, for Angola alone is 14 times and Mozambique nine times bigger than Portugal. It is certain that either the Portuguese government must change its policy in Africa or you will have a terrific fight. Some day the people will ask for independence, and maybe that is better for us too. They like olive oil and we need friendly customers for it."

GENERAL HUMBERTO DELGADO
An "unprofessional" overthrower

Though he knows the colonies well from experience with military missions, and has "contacts in all of them," this is one theme on which the general wants to be cautious. He appears not to expect much help from the colonies, where Portugal has imposed virtual slavery and political awareness is barely dawning. On his astonishing frankness with regard to the projected overthrow of Salazar, he comments with an affable grin: "Well, that's how we are, we Latins. We take the phone and say, 'You understand, it's confidential,' and the secret police know everything!"

THE ONLY MAN: The general's "unprofessional" approach to the revolutionary arts has left many here extremely skeptical of his chances to succeed; but his uncompromising courage and sincerity according to his lights have made a broad impression. Rather than continue to pay the price—silence before the present shame of his nation—he has sacrificed a brilliant career. His sense of mission, which has a pompous ring to some, has become a part of him. "In Brazil," he says, "I am still looking for a job. Every time I hear of one they say, 'As a future head of state, it isn't good enough for you'."

Most anti-Salazar Portuguese in Britain, while they have reservations, see him as "the only man with what it takes." He might make it—and on the GUARDIAN's behalf I wished him luck.

'HE IS NOT WELCOME'

Rev. King's move to Atlanta draws threat from governor

ANNOUNCEMENT THAT Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, will move to Atlanta next Feb. 1 drew from Georgia Gov. Ernest Vandiver the statement that "he is not welcome."

The governor claimed that "there has followed in [King's] wake a wave of crimes, including stabbings, bombings and inciting to riot, barratry, and destruction of property and many others." The minister would be closely watched in Georgia, he said.

The Georgia and Atlanta Councils on Human Relations charged Gov. Vandiver with making "inaccurate" and "unjust" statements about the integration leader. They contended that the governor's remarks "may be understood as an indirect threat to the person of a native Georgian as well as an invitation to violence by irresponsible citizens."

THE LEGACY: Meanwhile, King was saying farewell to 1,000 MIA members at a mass meeting in Montgomery. The occasion marked the fourth anniversary of the founding of the MIA and the launching of the historic anti-segregation bus boycott. The founders had little notion, King said, that they "would change the face of Montgomery forever and leave for unborn generations an imperishable legacy of creative, non-violent struggle."

Men and women in the audience cheered, sang hymns and wept as the young leader urged them to "continue your march toward freedom." King said he had decided to go to Atlanta because "the time is ripe for expanded militant action across the South." He advocated widespread civil disobedience among Negroes to break down segregation and called upon white "moderates" to "speak out and offer the leadership that is needed."

In Atlanta King will assist his father, who is pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church, and devote most of his time to the program of the SCLC. Recently he and other leaders of the organization conferred with NAACP officials in New York on launching a coordinated campaign to increase Negro voter registration in the South.

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING
They cried when he left

Keep the ban!

THREE OUT of every four Americans favor continuing the temporary agreement with the Soviet Union banning nuclear weapons tests, according to a Gallup Poll survey. The ban is due to expire this month.

To the question, "Would you like to have this agreement continued next year, or not?", 77% said Yes, 11% No, and 12% had no opinion. The answers were the same whether the questions were put to Republicans, Democrats or independent voters.

Abner Green Memorial

THE MEMORIAL Concert and Meeting to pay tribute to the late Abner Green, for more than 25 years leader of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, will be held Sat., Dec. 19 at 8 p.m. in the Moderne Room of the Hotel Belmont Plaza, 49th St. at Lexington Ave., New York.

Part One of the program will consist of musical selections presented by Beatrice Rippy and Carroll Hollister, and brief tributes by Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, James Aronson, and others. Part Two will be devoted to a report on the proceedings of the 27th Annual Conference of the Committee, which will be held Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 19 and 20.

Drug business: How to get rich

(Continued from Page 1)

too high. I don't know what legislation will be possible but we'll have to look into it."

There are about 400 companies manufacturing drugs, but 20 of these control 80% of the market. They rose to prominence during and after World War II because of the new scientific advances and because the German industry, which had dominated the world, was confiscated and disbanded. In the last decade the industry's profits after taxes averaged 12.3%; in manufacturing generally profits after taxes average 4%.

Competition, to the extent that it exists, lies in the speed of developing and marketing new drugs. Since all major companies spend large amounts on research and all are investigating the same areas at the same time, the company that markets a new "wonder drug" first reaps an incredible harvest. A new drug will account for as much as $50,000,000 in sales the first year. In short order the other companies are on the market with the same drug under their own brand name. Eventually there are four or five identical drugs under different brand names and the price, initially very high, drops sharply.

'DISCOVERIES': For each company there is an enormous drive for new discoveries. And while "wonder drugs" have not ceased, there has been a tendency for their discovery to become less frequent. Consequently, the drug companies have been "manufacturing" discoveries. Their resarch laboratories have been engaged in what the trade calls "molecular manipulation." By trial and error, they take a chemical molecule of known pharmacological properties and modify it by adding a new "tail," by substituting one element for another or by changing a single bond to a double bond. After some clinical tests, they are ready with a new "discovery."

Currently, the drug market is in a stage of planned perpetual obsolence. Every three or four months a "new" drug replaces the last "new" drug. But in reality the latest pharmaceutical is only a combination of two old drugs.

Early in the game the drug companies learned that the key to their financial success is the physician. Although the doctor purchases no drugs himself, he writes the prescription. And by law, the druggist must fill the prescription with the brand name specified by the physician, even though an identical drug is available at much less cost from another company.

HIGH PRESSURE: Currently the major drug companies spend 30-35 cents of every sales dollar on promotion and distribution. Included in this is an advertising and public relations campaign which fills the physician's letterbox with 5,000 pieces of direct mail promotion every year. In addition, there are two weekly newspapers for physicians, several magazines, periodic closed-circuit television shows, phonograph records and a score of newsletters.

Also, public relations men for the drug companies arrange special seminars and educational conferences for doctors. On the lighter side, they provide golf tournaments, fishing contests, skeet shoots and sport smokers. The free golf balls provided the doctors conveniently bear the imprint of the drug company paying the bill.

Lest the physician become inundated by their hard-sell literature, the companies have thoughtfully provided an interpeter. He is called the "detail man." (There are 15,000 in the country; large companies employ 500-1,000). "Detail men" visit physicians periodically to fill them in on the details of their companies' latest drug. They report clinical findings, the experience of other physicians, provide a supply of samples and impress the importance of prescribing their brand name.

OTHER FINDINGS: Much of this was brought out at Kefauver's initial hearings. But these things were also revealed:

- Some products of the major companies are marked up from 7,000 to 10,000 times the cost of the raw materials; one drug using materials worth 14c sells for $15.
- These same products bought in bulk form from large manufacturers by small companies and packaged in tablet form under other brand names sell for one-fourth as much.
- The average mark-up for drugs is 700 times the cost of materials.
- Some drugs advertised to physicians as free of harmful side effects have actually shown deleterious effects in clinical tests.
- Some companies have entered into cross-licensing agreements on drugs which have not yet received patents. The pacts provide that none of the companies will sell to small companies in bulk form and that royalties of 30-50c per 100 tablets will be paid to the company which is granted the patent.

HOW IT'S DONE: One of the first witnesses the committee heard was Francis C. Brown, president of Schering Corp. He was confronted by reports that his company buys two hormones from a French company and sells them here at mark-ups of 2,757% and 7,079%. "They are not an important part of our business," Brown said.

An important part of Schering's business are two steroid hormone derivatives, prednisone and prednisolone, used in the treatment of arthritis and rheumatic diseases. The committee contended that each cost $1.57 for 100 tablets and is sold to druggists for $17.90 with a suggested retail price of $29.83. Nysco Laboratories, a small Long Island company, wholesales the identical products for $2.70.

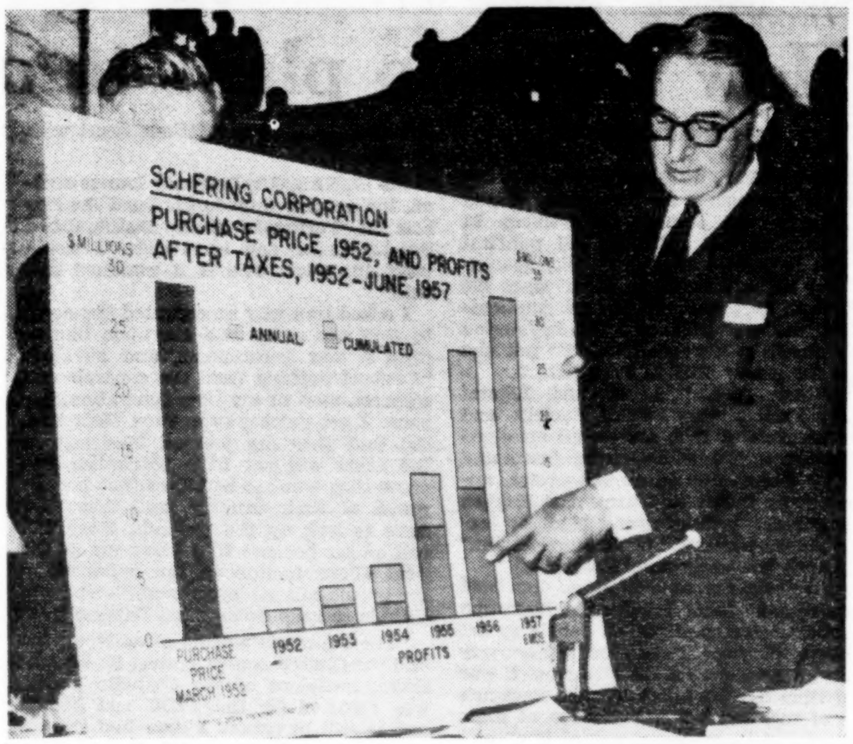
Brown contested the committee's figures. He said they did not include the enormous amounts his company spends on research and for informational services for physicians. He said the actual cost was $12.30. Smaller companies can sell for less, he said, because they do not spend for research and informational services.

"The best indication that Schering's prices are not excessive and its products are good is found in the ready acceptance given them by the medical profession," Brown said.

'UNDER-DEVELOPED PEOPLE': Kefauver protested that most of the people in need of the anti-arthritis drugs are elderly and live on social security and cannot afford the high prices. Brown replied that if some people could not pay for his company's drugs, "it is a matter of inadequate income rather than excessive prices." He proposed a citizens advisory committee to work out a welfare program for "under-developed people."

Brown became president of Schering after it was seized from the Germans during the war. Until then he was a government employe in the Alien Property Office. In 1952 the government sold the company for $29,132,000 to an investment company syndicate of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Beane; Kidder, Peabody & Co. and Drexel & Co. Under Brown's direction the company earned $31,959,000 in profits by mid-1957. Brown's salary is $75,000 a year and when he retires he will get a pension up to $33,000 a year. Last year he was given or excercised stock options which would have brought him a profit of $332,450 at current stock market quotations.

At the hearings Brown complained that his personal liberties were being invaded. He said the committee was putting him under "great nervous strain" by springing surprise questions on him.



THERE'S NO BUSINESS LIKE THE DRUG BUSINESS

Sen. Estes Kefauver holds a chart showing that the Schering Corp., bought from the Alien Property Office in 1952 for $29,132,000, made profits of $31,959,000 from 1952 through mid-1957.

NO STRAIN FOR MERCK: But the hearings seemed to be no strain to John T. Connor, president of Merck & Co. He arrived flanked by two Nobel prize-winning scientists and followed by a squad of junior executives and public relations men. He read an opening statement of 8,000 words and answered all questions from prepared answers in a loose-leaf notebook. His staff distributed to the press mimeographed supplementary answers to questions raised in the morning session before the afternoon hearings closed.

Connor repeated Brown's explanation that high drug costs were determined by high research outlays. But he warned the committee that its investigation could upset "the delicate balance we have been able to develop over the years between the quest for scientific knowledge on the one hand and the drive for financial success on the other."

DIME VS. TWO NICKELS: Connor was followed by Dr. Louis Lasagna, head of the Division of Clincial Pharmacology of Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine. He was critical of the drug companies' advertising practices. He said the enormous amount of advertising material "confuses physicians, raises prices to patients—and may even harm them." Physicians, he said, had no time to evaluate the effectiveness of new drugs and are taken in by exaggerated claims for new drugs which are really new mixtures of old compounds. "It's like saying a dime is more potent than two nickels because it is one piece," he said.

A later witness, Dr. Ronald Lamont-Havers, president of the Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation, accused the companies of making premature claims for their drugs. He said preliminary results with the use of Schering's Meticorten showed some good results, but after two years it became clear that the drug was not as effective as advertised. Merck's Decadron, he said, was advertised as free of "worrisome side effects." But, he added, there were clincial studies in reputable medical journals to show that side effects did occur with the drug. He said it was necessary to test new drugs on a large number of patients for a considerable period before side effects can be determined.

The committee's final witness was Dr. E. Gifford Upjohn, president of Upjohn Co. He said that his company's profit last year was 13.7% of sales and that it was justified because "this is a growth industry" that takes heavy investment in research.

'IT'S SOCIALISM': The committee's next session will be held in January and will concern antibiotics. Kefauver said he may be ready to introduce legislation after that. But getting a law through Congress won't be easy. The drug industry has influential friends like Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wisc.) who asked at the hearings: "What business is it of this committee to tell anybody in business what prices they should charge?" Later he said to Upjohn: "I don't want the public to get the impression from the figures given here that you are a bunch of horse thieves."

The industry cannot be expected to hold still for Federal control. The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn., just before the hearings began, hired Hill & Knowlton, one of the country's biggest public relations firms.

At a regional meeting in New York, PMA president Dr. Austin Smith may have sounded the theme of the industry's counter-campaign. He said: "I wonder if the current criticism about drug prices is generated because of lack of perspective or of a deeper, less obvious motivation . . . namely, a desire to enter the back door to government-controlled medicine, or socialized medicine as it is commonly called.

"I am sure that all of us feel the greatest compassion for elderly people who find it difficult to pay for medication. If the pharmaceutical industry is at fault here, it is because it has helped create a pool of millions too old to work by prolonging their lives."

Reservations still available for Guardian European tour

PARIS IN THE SPRING and summer in Moscow is the vacation itinerary being planned by a large group of GUARDIAN readers who will leave next May on a 45-day conducted tour of seven European countries. Peggy Middleton, London County Councilor, will conduct the group, and Editor-in-Exile Cedric Belfrage will be on hand in London to arrange special events.

Other GUARDIAN friends and correspondents in Helsinki, Prague, Warsaw and Stockholm are ready to lend a hand. Hard-to-get tickets to theatrical attractions will be purchased for the group in advance and interviews arranged with government officials and leading professional workers. The group will leave sometime in May and return in July. A limited number of reservations are still available. For more information write THE GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4th St., New York City 9.

BOOKS

About a fellow named Fiorello

THIS FIRST VOLUME* of a two part biography is an absorbing story wrought from the flame and fight and integrity of Fiorello H. La Guardia. It covers the years from La Guardia's birth in 1882 to the early part of 1933, shortly before he was elected Mayor of the City of New York. Anecdotes, newspaper history, public archives and personal recollections of individuals with varying reasons for remembering, are the material from which this vivid biography is fashioned.

Even to readers who pride themselves on a loving knowledge of La Guardia, there are likely to be fascinating surprises. For example, it comes with superb timeliness to read that in 1915, as a New York State deputy attorney general, La Guardia instituted an action charging packing houses with declaring false weights of their meats on paper wrappers. (The charge was dismissed, because the Weights and Measures Law on which the suit was founded was held to apply only to meat sold in containers, not paper wrappers; moreover, State Senator James J. Walker, who was the author of this law, was also the attorney for the packing houses in the lawsuit).

OTHER SURPRISES include La Guardia's founding of the La Guardia Publishing Company and an Italian-language weekly called **L'Americolo** in 1925; his period as a political columnist for Bernarr MacFadden's **Evening Graphic** from 1925 to 1929 under such by-lines as "As La Guardia Sees It" and "I'm Telling You Confidentially—By F. H. La Guardia (America's Most Liberal Congressman)"; his scorning of White House invitations from Cal Coolidge by giving them away to House page boys as souvenirs; and, as an interesting item of political genealogy, this unexpected reference to a New York American Labor Party, as early as 1925: "The next day the American Labor Party, a New York City organization comprising Socialists, single-taxers, Farmer-Laborites and trade unionists, convened in the Debs auditorium of the Rand School of Social Science in order to endorse the New York Socialist ticket and nominate La Follette, Wheeler and La Guardia. Because the ALP had no place on the ballot Fiorello's name was entered on the Socialist line."

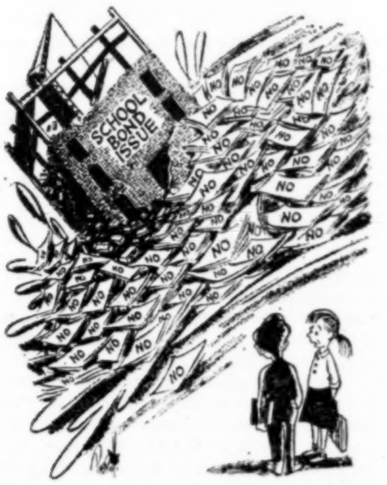
THERE ARE MEMORABLE passages concerning the relationship between LaGuardia and Marcantonio—that magnificent fusion of blazing energy in sustained struggle for progressive political action in behalf of the people. There is the first meeting between them in 1921 at a De Witt Clinton High School assembly, when the brilliant young student deeply impressed the visiting President of the Board of Aldermen by a speech on social security and old age pensions; Marc as head of the Tenants' League in Harlem; then Marc as a law clerk in La Guardia's firm. "Marcantonio was like a son to the childless, widowered Fiorello," writes the author, quoting several fatherly strictures from La Guardia to the young Marc, who dynamically organized street rallies, managed campaigns, built the independent F. H. La Guardia Political Club, prepared cases, saw thousands of constituents about their problems. (Marc served 14 years in Congress, not ten years, as the author mistakenly states).

FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA
Cal Coolidge wouldn't understand

THE AUTHOR offers several capsule summings-up of La Guardia's political life. In one, he describes him as "the East Harlem Populist;" in another, "a New Dealer before the New Deal." As to the accuracy of these or similar descriptions, the turbulent facts speak for themselves: La Guardia battled the trusts, the racists, the militarists, the imperialists, the real estate lobby, the censors, the Prohibitionists, the exploiters of labor. He did not have a long-range political philosophy, and waged his struggles on a pragmatic daily level of the immediate welfare of the common man. But always he flew the banner of political insurgency and political independence embodied in his credo: "I would rather be right than regular."

—**Arthur Schutzer**

**LA GUARDIA*, by Arthur Mann. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 384 pp. with photographs. $6.*



Pierotti, New York Post
"They say it's a victory for the people."

A fatherly letter to Dear Sonny

WHEN YOUNG VITO MARCANTONIO was installed in Fiorello La Guardia's law office in 1924, the Major (as everyone called him then) wrote Marc a letter addressed "Dear Sonny." It said in part:

"You either are going to be a politician, a social worker or a lawyer. If you are satisfied, as I told you, to make a living from the Magistrate and Municipal Courts, with General Sessions as the possible limit, you can keep up your social and political activities. If you love your profession, want to be proficient in it and intend to follow it, then you have got to change your attitude and your whole mode of living. You have to cut out your evening appointments, your dances, your midnight philosophers for the next five years and devote yourself to serious hard study of the law. From 1907 to 1912 I did it . . .

"Be careful in your personal appearance. Get a Gillette razor and keep yourself well groomed at all times. Be always respectful and courteous to all, the humble as well as high, and for goodness sake keep your ears and eyes open and keep your mouth closed for at least the next twenty years.

"Now my dear boy take this letter in the fatherly spirit in which I am writing it. Keep in touch with me." (**La Guardia**, pp. 240-241)

Marcantonio, who died in 1954, would have been 57 this Dec. 10. As advised by the Major, he did steep himself in the law, was always clean-shaven and well-groomed, was always respectful and courteous to the humble if not to the high. But he never cut out his "midnight philosophers" and, rather like La Guardia's practice than his preachment, never kept silent when the public interest was at stake, or at any other opportunity for a good argument or songfest.

PUBLICATIONS

SOVIET HIGHLIGHTS
A Survey of Soviet Thought and Developments
In the Current Issue
(No. 5, 1959)
SPRING IN SIGHT, by Ilya Ehrenburg—The famous writer states his views on cultural exchange.
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Ike's world tour

(Continued from Page 1)

to Asia, he spoke loftily of peace but stressed the need for maintaining military power against "the aggressive strength of an alien philosophy backed by great military strength." Twice he came close to offering what might meet the needs of his hosts; but the first time he shied away from it at the last moment, and the second time he offered it in unacceptable terms.

The text of the President's speech before the Indian parliament, given to the press in advance, referred to the U.S. as "a nation ready to share its substance in assisting toward the achievement of mankind's eternal aspirations for peace and freedom." When he delivered the speech, the "substance" sharing had disappeared; the U.S. had discreetly become "a nation ready to cooperate toward the achievement of mankind's deep eternal aspirations for peace and freedom."

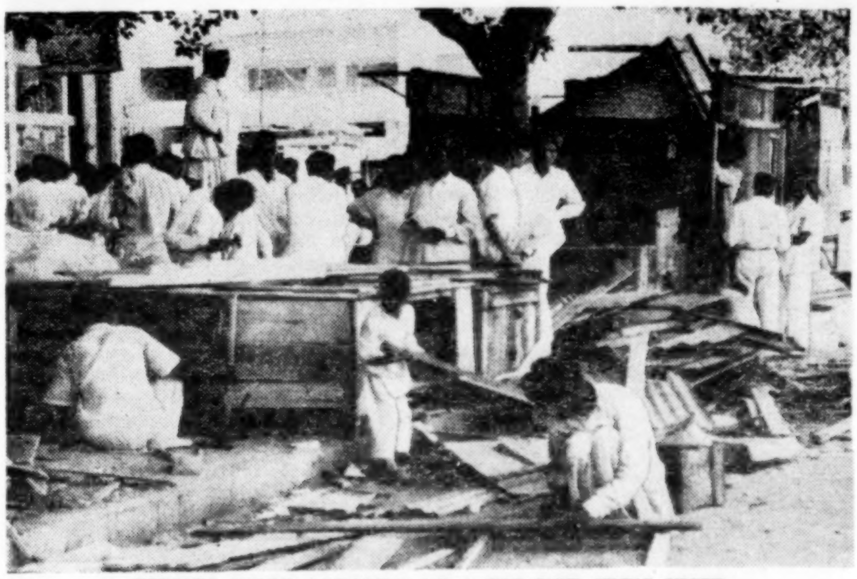
OPEN THE GATES: Later, at a civic reception in New Delhi, Eisenhower spoke of India's bright economic future which, he conceded, would require the "acquisition of more capital than you now possess." "The best means for a nation determined to maintain independence," he said, "are private investment from outside, governmental loans and, where necessary, grants from other free and friendly nations." Which of these methods of aid he preferred became clear when he added: "I assure you . . . I shall be quick to speak out on every possible occasion that India is becoming one of the great investment opportunities of our time."

The general feeling in India seemed to be that the President had failed to understand the government's policy and the people's needs.

- The government appeared determined to oppose Chinese claims to territory the Indians believed belonged to them; but they had no intention of going to war over it and did not believe that Peking wanted war.
- To the starving Indians, Eisenhower's constant reference to the necessity for maintaining military strength, and his implication that everyone should share his view of socialist society as based on an "aggressive alien philosophy," seemed presumptuous and irrelevant.

MORE HEADACHES: In Tunisia, Eisenhower faced the task of appeasing President Bourguiba's hopes for badly needed U.S. economic aid in return for being, as the State Dept. said, "our most outspoken friend in the Arab world." There was no indication that Bourguiba would receive any more definite assurance than India got.

In Morocco the President faced the added demand to surrender U.S. Naval and Air Force bases. He hoped to be able to persuade King Mohammed V to negotiate the future of the bases a little longer by dangling promises of economic aid.



THINGS WERE CLEANED UP A BIT FOR IKE'S VISIT
Sidewalk shacks like these in Karachi were ordered removed

Spain's dictator Francisco Franco was expected to blackmail Eisenhower for larger handouts and for more open recognition of Spain's role in the West European community—this in retprn for maintaining U.S. bases on Spanish soil.

THE BIGGEST PROBLEM: But the President's toughest assignment was expected to be in Paris, trying to patch up NATO, placate the touchy French President de Gaulle, convince Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer that John Foster Dulles' death had not left him friendless in America, and work out a common policy for the East-West summit meeting. His was indeed an unenviable task.

Even as the U.S. was demanding greater integration of all NATO forces, the alliance seemed to be imperilled by two factors: (1) De Gaulle's threat to bolt it altogether unless France had an equal role with Britain and the U.S.; (2) France's insistence on its own nuclear arsenal. Under these pressures, NATO seemed to be passing under the control of West Germany.

GERMANS TAKE OVER: Originally scheduled to have 95 divisions, NATO today has 16—five American, 2½ British, five West German, one each from France, Belgium and the Netherlands, plus a Canadian Brigade. The British divisions are 40% below strength. Thus Bonn already supplies more troops to NATO than any other nation except the U.S.

NATO's Central European commander is Hitler's Gen. Speidel. He has replaced Britain's Maj. Gen. Thompson with another German, Gen. Wirsing, and is pressing to displace two other key Britons for Germans. With nuclear weapons assured the West Germans, Adenauer seems well on the way to dominating West Europe militarily as well as economically, through the European Common Market.

This is not at all to de Gaulle's liking. But he needs West Germany to promote French overseas economic interests and to block British domination of the Western European economy—just as Adenauer, with Dulles gone, needs him to support Bonn's position in East-West summit talks.

TAKE YOUR PICK: The French President seems to feel he has found a way out by presenting the U.S. with the alternatives of (1) a French-British-American triumvirate controlling NATO or (2) as he said in a speech Nov. 3 at the Military Academy in Paris, a French declaration of military independence. And, in or out of NATO, he has demanded a French atomic arsenal, capable of striking anywhere in the world, "which we may make or buy, but which must belong to us."

It remained to be seen how Eisenhower resolved these problems. The Washington **Star** reported (Nov. 15) that the possibility of supplying France "with a ready-made arsenal of atomic weapons is being given serious consideration by high-level Western officials."

This, however, would hardly solve the basic problem of NATO; that problem is the fact that it has become obsolete.

Bergen-Belsen unreconstructed

Special to the Guardian

FRANKFURT

BRITISH TROOPS liberated the notorious German concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen in April, 1945. It was estimated that just before liberation, 30,000 had died there. How many thousands in all were murdered will perhaps never be known. Mass graves for 500 to 1,000 bodies were dug to receive the unburied corpses. The British found "alive" 28,000 men, 11,000 women and 500 children in the last stages of starvation and suffering from typhus.

Last week, Horst Siebecke, a radio reporter gathering material for a history of the camp, reported to the **Frankfurter Rundschau** after a visit to the Bergen area. This is what he found:

- The official view of the town today is that the British reports of the number of dead in the camp were "greatly exaggerated." In any case, said the chief Bergen official, the camp could not be regarded as an extermination camp "because there were no gas chambers there." Siebecke commented: "If you beat people to death, this apparently is not extermination."
- Another Bergen official said that "one could only refer to real victims after the British troops marched into the camp and fed the starving prisoners to death."
- One reluctant official read to the reporter an order issued by Lower Saxony authorities declaring that no information be given out about the camp because such action would "harm democracy."
- A Social Democratic councilor, in declining an interview, said: "If I were to tell the truth I could never appear again at council meetings."
- A Hamburg city official, Ernst Leuth, told Siebecke of this incident when he was in Bergen on a visit: "A busload of Jewish survivors of the Third Reich arrived in Bergen and went to a restaurant. But the proprietor learned that they were Jewish and refused to serve them."

FOOTNOTE: A West German opinion poll recently asked this question: "Do you think it would be better for Germany if there were no Jews here?" The replies: 26% Yes; 24% No; 17% Don't Know; 33% Indifferent.

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THE BROOKLYN Community-Woodward School, 321 Clinton Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y., will sponsor a pre-holiday Play-Party for neighborhood children, ages 3-8, on Sat., Dec. 19, at 10:30 a.m. in the school auditorium, 314 Waverly Ave. Mrs. Hannah Meyrich will lead the children in square and folk dances, as well as in traditional games. Admission will be 25c at the door. Refreshments will be served.

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DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN speaks Sun., Dec. 20, 8 p.m., on "From Art for Art's Sake to the Beat Generation." Sponsor: Writers' Workshop of N.Y. Intercultural Society, 111 W. 48 St. (top floor). Discussion, free refreshments. Contribution $1.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

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"American Youth And Peace" Forum Sponsor: The Manhattan Youth Club of the Communist Party. Speaker: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Fri., Dec. 18, 8:30 p.m.—Central Plaza Annex, 40 E. 7th St.

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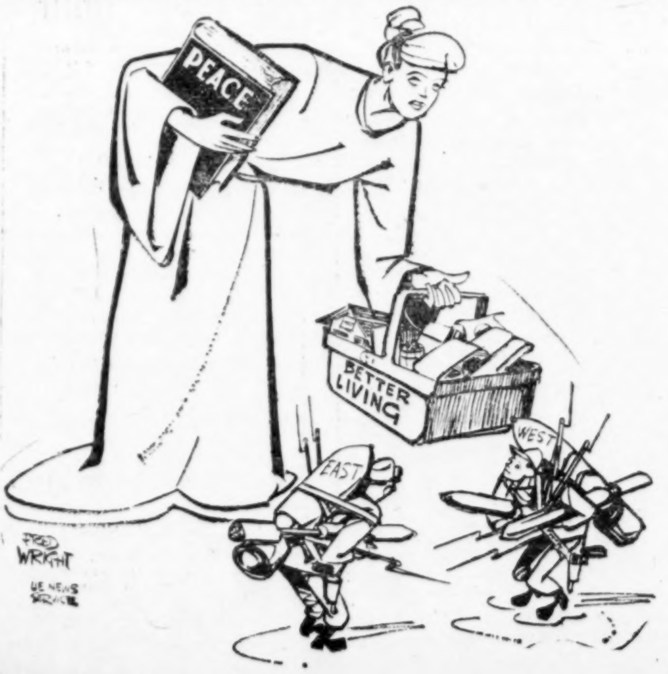

Aptheker to speak on John Brown centennial

THE HUNDRETH ANNIVERSARY of the execution of John Brown will be commemorated at The Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11th St., Friday, Dec. 18 at 8:30 p.m., with a talk by Dr. Herbert Aptheker, historian and author. He will deal with the myth of John Brown's "madness," his attitude towards force and violence and his significance for today's liberation struggles. Admission is $1.

THE GALLERY

ROY TORCASO was recently appointed notary public in Maryland but a circuit court ruled that he cannot accept the post because he refuses to make "a declaration of belief in the existence of God," required by the state constitution. Torcaso said he will appeal. . . . James C. Worthy, vice president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., advised corporations to include religious causes in their philanthropies because, he said, the U.S. is basically a religious society. "If corporate support of many secular causes can be justified in terms of strengthening the society," he added, "corporate support of religion can be justified in similar terms." . . . The Pittsburgh **Courier** reports a new mystery in the South. Two men, one Negro, the other white, driving a 1955 Chevrolet, invaded the slum areas of Birmingham and Atlanta. Under doors of homes and to passersby on the street, they distributed envelopes marked, "God bless you, Merry Christmas." Each envelope contained a $50 bill. They handed out more than $130,000. . . . The government publishing house in Peking has issued a volume of Sholem Aleichem's writings for the first time in China. . . . A Beverly Hills company is offering an item which it says is "guaranteed to create gift excitement." It is a "belly button brush" with a "deluxe rhinestone handle" for 79c. . . . The Agriculture Dept. advises that evergreens grown in northeastern states used as Christmas trees should be burned after use because they are common hosts for the gypsy moth.

PHILOSOPHERS BERTRAND RUSSELL of England and Martin Buber of Israel sent the following joint message to President Eisenhower: "Convinced of the innocence of Morton Sobell, now imprisoned for more than eight years and condemned to a 30-year sentence on charges which appear to many legal authorities flimsy, to say the least. We, the under-signed, of independent political views and in the interest of justice and humanity only, beg you to exercise your Presidential prerogative of clemency and return Morton Sobell to his family." Also, the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action in its bulletin appealed for Christmas release for Sobell and urged its supporters to send individual appeals to the White House. . . . Former Nazi General Hans Speidel, now NATO ground forces commander, is being sued for libel in Bonn by Annelie and Andrew Thorndike, producers of the documentary film, **The Archives Speak.** The movie was produced in East Germany from captured Nazi film files and shows the activities of some West German leaders when they were Nazi officials. Speidel, who figures prominently in the movie, claimed it was a forgery. . . . From the London **Daily Worker:** "Left Labor MPs say that Mr. Gaitskell's conclusions about nationalization are the same as the Wolfenden Commission's on prostitution. Both say: 'It's all right provided it's kept off the streets.'" . . . Dr. Gerald Wendt, science consultant to the UN, said that the first man to reach the moon will be stranded there with no way to return. "But it won't matter," he added, "because he'll be a Russian."

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WASHINGTON, D.C., PROPERTY OWNERS who do not display a street number sign in letters at least three inches high on the front entrance of their buildings are subject to a $300 fine according to a new ordinance being strictly enforced by District police. But when the Washington **Post** checked, it discovered that the District building, central police headquarters, nine of 15 police precinct buildings and President Eisenhower's residence are all unmarked . . . New York **Post** columnist Max Lerner, writing from India, reports that young people there seem to lack the interest in politics and the idealism of the generation that led the independence fight. "As I think it over," he wrote, "what India has lost is the sense of an enemy to be overcome, a Heaven to be reached. Once the enemy was the British and their imperialism, but that enemy is gone, and now Nehru refuses—in India's hour of dire need—to recognize Communist China as the enemy, and India's freedom from fear as the goal." . . . The French National Assembly last week passed a bill barring home stills . . . When 80-year-old Florence Louise Watmore married 82-year-old Austin James Austin in London last month, she said: "At last I have found the man I want."

—**Robert E. Light**

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Vitamin D (Irradiated Ergosterol)	1,000 U.S.P. units
Thiamin HCl U.S.P.	3 mg.
Riboflavin U.S.P.	2.5 mg.
Pyridoxine HCl	0.75 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Ascorbic Acid U.S.P.	50 mg.
Vitamin B-12 U.S.P.	1.5 mcg.
Folic Acid U.S.P.	0.34 mg.
d alpha Tocopheryl Acetate (Vit. E.) Equiv. to 3 I.U.	
DiCalcium Phosphate Anhyd.	747 mg.
Niacinamide U.S.P.	20 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate Dried U.S.P. (Equivalent to 13.4 mg. Iron)	45.56 mg.
Postassium Iodide U.S.P.	0.133 mg.
Manganese Sulfate Dried CP	4.72 mg.
Cobalt Sulfate 7-H-20	0.49 mg.
Zinc Sulfate Dried CP	3.9 mg.
Sodium Molybdate 2-H-20	1.01 mg.
Copper Sulfate Monohyd.	2.8 mg.
Potassium Sulfate CP	11.2 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate Dried	54 mg.

100 capsules, $2.50

VITAMIN - MINERAL CANDITABS

Choice of chocolate, cherry or both flavors mixed

Vitamin A Acetate	2,500 U.S.P. units
Vitamin D	250 U.S.P. units
Thiamin chloride	1 mgm.
Riboflavin (as the soluble Riboflavin-5-phosphate)	0.25 mgm.
Vitamin B 12 Cyanocobalamin	3mcgm.
Ascorbic acid (as the sodium ascorbate)	30 mgm.
Pyridoxine HCl	0.1 mgm.
Niacinamide	10 mgm.
Calc. Pantothenate	1 mgm.
Cobalt (from cobalt sulfate)	0.014 mgm.
Copper (from copper sulfate)	0.07 mgm.
Iodine (from Pot. Iodide)	0.027 mgm.
Potassium (from Pot. Iodide)	0.01 mgm.
Iron (from Reduced Iron)	1 mgm.
Molybdenum (from sodium molybdate)	0.01 mgm.
Manganese (from manganese sulfate)	0.028 mgm.
Magnesium (from magnesium sulfate)	0.108 mgm.
Zinc (from zinc sulfate)	0.05 mgm.

100 tablets $2.25

STRESS FORMULA

For undue stress or strain caused by worry or fatigue

EACH CAPSULE CONTAINS:

Thiamine Hcl. (Vit. B-1)	10 mgm.
Riboflavin (Vit. B-2)	10 mgm.
Niacinamide	100 mgm.
Calcium Pantothenate	20 mgm.
Pyridoxine Hcl.	2 mgm.
Folic Acid	1.5 mgm.
Ascorbic Acid (Vit. C)	300.0 mgm.
Vitamin B-12 (Oral Concentrate)	4.0 mcgm.
Menadione (Vitamin K. Analog)	2 mg.

100 capsules, $5.50

NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Kids in East Berlin

RECENTLY I RETURNED from a trip halfway around the world to "my own" children in an East Harlem Day Care Center. As one little girl twined herself about me, and a snub-nosed little boy who spoke only Spanish before I left said "Hi, Teach!", as an Italian-born mother wept a few bitter tears because the hospital had given her husband such a run-around—I knew once more that children and mothers—indeed, people—are pretty much the same all over. And, on a pre-school level at least, child care centers and schools are not very different from Rome to Moscow, and on both sides of the open nerve that divides Germany.

I shall never forget my first view of nursery schools in East Berlin. We go around the driveway of an imposing house (formerly a Prussian baron's) into a green garden with trees, flowers, and sunshine—about 30 joyous, naked children run in and out of a shower spray held by their young teacher; other pre-schoolers circle the grass on scooters and bikes, climb bright, painted ladders, swing from bars or crawl through a green and yellow wicker tunnel which looks like a great caterpillar. Off in the corner in a giant sand-pit, six children dig and build, oblivious of all the rest.

TALKING WITH THE TEACHERS and watching the children, I marvel at the relaxation here in spite of the tensions in this divided city. For down the center of Berlin is an open border, crossed and re-crossed many times a day by people from two different worlds, yet people speaking the same language and having many things in common. Two worlds competing with each other—the East with solid, square new houses at low rents steadily replacing the bombed-out ruins and old slums, with schools like these, camps for older children, and free education through the university, with free and expert medical care from the cradle to the grave, with drug and food prices much cheaper than those of the West.

The West competes with Coca-Cola, California oranges, pornographic magazines, flashy clothes, gadgetry, fancy skyscrapers and luxury apartments splitting the sky along the sparkling John Foster Dulles Alee. Hollywood movies at reduced rates entice the East-Berliners over. Many young people go, and many who are easily uprooted stay, fascinated by capitalism's bright lights. In East Berlin theaters of a great tradition—Brecht, Piscator, Eisler—offer magnificent productions that bring thousands of West Berlin art lovers nightly to their performances.

What makes it a border? Only the Volks Politzeit (People's Police) in their green Robin Hood-type uniforms who politely ask to see one's passport before re-entering East Berlin. Author Stefan Heym, who took us for the trip up the River Spree in his motor boat to see the beautiful lakes and woods which are part of Berlin, recently got himself arrested as a smuggler at the border in order to gather material for a story. He told us that most of the people in the well-run East German detention camp who were escaping the West were young men evading army service, and young women who were pregnant or had illegitimate children and wanted the social benefits of free medical care, jobs, nursery schools and decent treatment, which the East offered them.

OF COURSE, THE SOCIALIST sector still loses many people to the West. Gerhardt Eisler, who is now director of all radio and television there, estimates that today about 50% of the German people are solidly behind the 14-year-old socialist government; the other half represents various levels of passivity, indifference, and disaffection.

A 19-year-old German friend who has been working in a shipyard far from Berlin (a year's industrial work is now required of all young people between high school and university) tells us that in East Germany's small industrial towns and fertile farm country people are much less tense than in Berlin; they don't think about the West, they are very contented with their lives—especially the young people—and "not much interested in politics." They are far away spiritually, if not geographically, from that exposed nerve, the open border between two worlds.

What does it matter if East Berlin stores do not have the variety of spike-heeled shoes offered by the West or if there is a shortage of household gadgets (our friend told us of hunting through the city for a garbage pail, while Woolworth's across the border had a great display of them!)—there is plenty of food, clothing, blankets, linens, medical supplies, and increasing numbers of radios, refrigerators, television sets and automobiles as more and more factories are operating. I remember the well-stacked storage rooms in the Nursery School—one closet full of new toys from last year's supply, not needed yet because they have so many. I remember the heaped-up pans of potatoes, scrambled eggs, vegetables being served the children for lunch at outdoor tables under the trees.

I WAS FASCINATED by the balance in the nursery schools here between freedom and firmness—the carefully structured group life and the effortless ease of individual expression which seemed to flower in its midst. How was it that the German Socialist schools should seem so much less didactic and more relaxed than I expected from these descendants of Prussian militarism and carriers of a "rigid Communist regime?"

Both rigidity and Prussianism seem drowned in the deep compassionate tradition of modern German education, which partook of Pestolozzi and Froebel, then of Freud and Adler, now of Pavlov and Makarenko, and which has taken the best from each and molded something for little children that is very close to the heart's desire.

—Alice Jerome